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THE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION BY FOREIGNERS

TO A NEW ENVIRONMENT

A longitudinal investigation

by

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The Process of Adaptation by Foreigners
to a new environment

— A longitudinal investigation —

Psychologisch Laboratorium

van de
Universiteit te Nijmegen

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I SUMMARY OF THE SCIENTIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS
UNDER THE CONTRACT

- A. By means of various methods a study was made of the way and the degree to which some forty foreign families experienced and evaluated their new environment. Each foreign family was interviewed four times during the first three years of its stay in the Netherlands, namely $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2 and 3 years after the date of arrival.
- B. The result of this investigation demonstrated, with a higher or lesser degree of certainty, the following:
1. The foreigners spontaneously raise 10 different themes in an interview. These themes admit of arrangement into 4 wider categories, viz:
 - 'Freedom to do and leave undone';
 - 'Integration in a social communicative pattern';
 - 'Vegetal-hedonistic facets of the environment';
 - 'Panoramic facets of the environment'.
 2. The durability of the categories corresponds with the order given above. (see 1).
 3. Distinction should be made between habituation, assimilation and acculturation. These concepts can be defined operationally.
 4. A tremendous change occurs in the foreigner within the first year of his stay, especially in the sphere of habituation. Later, the changes in the pattern of experience come about more gradually and more towards the spheres of assimilation and acculturation respectively.
 5. With regard to a number of corresponding environmental facets:
 - (a) 'there' is evaluated predominantly higher than 'here';
 - (b) a tendency exists towards making progressively higher evaluations of 'there'

and lower evaluations of 'here' in the course of the first three years;

- (c) a tendency exists towards a more limited distribution in the evaluation of a facet there than here;
- (d) evaluation of milieu facets is less discriminative with respect to 'there' than with respect to 'here'.

C. The results of this investigation made it possible to distinguish various indicators for the modality of the process of adaptation, viz:

- (a) the proportion gradient of the themes;
- (b) changes in the evaluation level of environmental facets;
- (c) increase in the percentage of families that said they did not feel at home in the new environment;
- (d) social communicative indicators;
- (e) expressional indicators;
- (f) engagement indicators.

D. The investigation allowed only of the formulation of suppositions about the factors which promoted or which hampered adaptation to a new environment. These factors are:

- (a) the individual personality;
- (b) the basic personality;
- (c) the ability to speak the same/different language.
- (d) the necessity of carrying on one's own and one's family's existence;
- (e) the membership in a group of people with corresponding leanings and interests;
- (f) the possession or not of one's family;
- (g) the feeling of being 'somebody';
- (h) having a job;

- (i) the level at which the refugee believes the autochthon judges him;
 - (j) the level at which the refugee evaluates the autochthon; and vice versa.
 - (k) the dwelling together of people who had suffered the same fate;
 - (l) the possession of children;
 - (m) the achievement of a better standard of living;
 - (n) the possibility of practising hobbies.
- E. The results of the investigation permitted the formulation of seven criteria of adaptation.

II THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE WORK

The significance of this investigation for future investigations of the same stamp would seem to lie in the possibility that it may lead to operationalisation, both of the factors which influence the advancement or hindrance of adaptation as well as of the criteria of adaptation. In such a way, measurement and factor-analytical ordering of these variables could lead to the prediction and guidance of the process of adaptation by foreigners to a new milieu.

III SUMMARY OF PERSONNEL UTILIZED AND NUMBER
OF MAN-HOURS EXPENDED

Project leader	600	man-hours
Chief investigator	4200	"
Statistician	150	"
Secretary	1200	"
Translators	850	"
Technician	100	"

Total :	7100	man-hours
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IV CHANGES IN RESEARCH POLICIES BY THE CONTRACTOR

- a) As mentioned in the Annual Report ATR, no.1, March 1959, our investigation initially comprised two separate parts: part 1 referred to the process of assimilation of unmarried Italians, who were employed as miners in the Dutch National Coalmines; part 2 referred to the process of adaptation by Indo-European families who were expelled from their native country and who settled in the Netherlands. Owing to a crisis in the coal industry, it became impossible to continue part 1 of our investigation.
- b) Another change concerned the duration of the total investigation period. The time-intervals between the successive four phases would have become too short to obtain a good insight in the process of adaptation, had we been obliged to deliver the Final Report before January 30th, 1960. Both these changes - a and b - in the policy of the Contractor led to the Supplement Agreement dated December 29th 1959.
- c) A third and last change concerned the date of submission of the Final Technical Report. This change is stated in the Supplement Agreement dated May 23rd, 1960.

V EXPENSES FOR MATERIALS AND IMPORTANT PROPERTY,
ACQUIRED DURING THE CONTRACT PERIOD AT DIRECT
CONTRACT EXPENSE

The expenses incurred for materials

- 2 rating scales, printing, files, stencils,
stencil paper, typing paper, photographic
materials -

totalled about \$ 500.

In order to visit families who lived scattered throughout the country, a second-hand motor-car (Ford Anglia) was purchased: in it about 45,000 km. were covered for this project's purposes. The cost of this motor-car was \$ 1185.

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1. DESIGN OF THE INVESTIGATION.

1

1.1 PURPOSE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

In this investigation it was intended to find the answers to a number of questions, the three most important of which may be formulated as follows. What characteristics are revealed in the process of adaptation by the group of refugees, with whom we are concerned in this study, to the new circumstances particular to their case, when - at successive intervals during the refugees' stay in the new fatherland - we record the way in which they experience and evaluate these circumstances? Which are the factors, either contributing to or hindering the adaptation to a new environment, that appear out of this study? What value may be attached to the procedure and methods used in this study, in view of further research on processes of adaptation by refugees to their new environment?

The way in which these problems have been formulated may make it clear that the aim of this investigation was not to test the validity of preconceived hypotheses. The reason for this is that, with regard to the factors determining the nature, course and length of time of this process of adaptation by foreigners, we know practically nothing with sufficient accuracy. Up to the present, hardly any insight has been gained into the very nature and course of such a process considered as a complex of psychological phenomena. This study, therefore, will have to be conducted on a descriptive level. Those factors which eventually appear to have determined the process in its nature and course - and which will be mentioned in the last chapter - may only

be regarded as presumptions arising out of close observation of the examined subjects' experiences and evaluations.

For the reason stated above we have refrained from making any attempts at formulating definitions beforehand of concepts such as: becoming accustomed, conformed, adapted, assimilated and acculturized.

Where such a complicated process as adaptation to a new habitat is concerned, a more precise definition of concepts would seem to be justified only after close examination and observation of the phenomena involved.

Noting the methods employed, distinction should be made between:

- Methods for the collection of data
 - a) Phase method;
 - b) Systematic interview;
 - c) Spontaneous themes method;
 - d) Method of "there-here" comparison
- Methods of data analysis
 - a) Proportion method;
 - b) Evaluation method;

1.2.1 Methods for the collection of data

a. Phase method.

As our aim was to trace the refugees' process of adaptation to new surroundings in the course of its development, the most obvious approach seemed to us a close observation of one and the same group of families over a set period. In practice, this consisted in a series of four interviews spread over a period of three years with each of the families concerned. These four interviews took place, $\frac{1}{4}$, 1, 2 and 3 years respectively after the date of arrival of such a family in the Netherlands. These time-intervals will henceforth be referred to as the phases of the investigation.

The decision to settle on this total period of time in which the investigation would be conducted, as well as the division of that period into four parts and the duration of each part were more or less arbitrary. That the total period had to be limited to about three years did not seem too great a disadvantage, since other investigators' experiences in this respect seemed to justify our presumption, that two years after his arrival, a refugee has already overcome some of the chief difficulties of adaptation. The division into four periods as well as the length of each period had to remain arbitrary, since it

was not known at which point in the process of adapta-⁴
tion of the given group of refugees the most striking
features were to appear, when seen from a psycholo-
gical point of view.

Three or fewer divisions of the entire length of the
period seemed to us to offer too little opportunity
for collecting a sufficient amount of data, which
might present us with a sufficiently varied view of
the course of developments; five or more would probably
lay demands too heavy upon the time and interest of
those interviewed and would also increase the chances
of their remembering what they had said during a
previous interviewer's round of questions, as the
same topics were brought up in each of the four
phases.

The disadvantages attaching to this phase method in
studying adaptation as a psychological phenomenon
will not be discussed.

Diagram 1 shows the distribution of interviews
with time.

(Diagram 1)

b. Systematic interview

The method used to collect data in the four phases
of investigation lay in conversation arising out of
a series of questions that had been previously decided
on and formulated. This series of questions was selected
from a more comprehensive list on grounds of their
meaningfulness, as ascertained in a preliminary in-
vestigation on a small group of refugees. If it ap-
peared that a question did not meet with any reaction,
an improved formulation was sought after. If the
question still failed to evoke response, that is,

if we had the impression that the person interviewed had no frame of reference, nor was likely to acquire one in which this question would be meaningful, it was discarded.

All the questions formulated were non-suggestive. They were suggestive only in so far as they helped to focus the attention of the refugee on a certain aspect of the milieu in which he found himself. The relevant reactions of the refugees were registered by the interviewer on the spot, so as to prevent any distortion of the original by a later notation. The presumed difficulty that such a procedure might impede the natural flow of conversation did not, in fact, prove to be justified.

Some 'pruning' of the raw material had to take place since not all, but only the relevant reactions were recorded by the interviewer. However, we may assume that this selective 'pruning' occurred in practically the same way in all the conversations, seeing the data for this investigation were collected by the same interviewer.

In each of the four phases - apart from a few exceptions - the same questions were advanced. The most natural sequence of questions adhered to was found from the results of the preliminary investigation. If, however, the trend of conversation deviated from the set sequence of questions, through the initiative of the interviewed person, the interviewer made no attempt to restrain him, unless such a restraint could be exercised without any risk of reducing the quality of the reactions or disturbing the interviewed person. Thus, with reference to the order in which the questions were brought up, the interview cannot be called systematic. The interview generally lasted $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 hours.

c. Spontaneous themes method.

6

We thought we should find our best chances of success in making an adequate description of the way in which the refugee experienced his new life if we had at our disposal as a basis those subjects, which, at a specific time, possessed outstanding significance in his awareness. Proceeding in a preliminary investigation from the simple assumption that 'what the heart thinks, the mouth speaks', we looked for those topics of conversation which would unlock these feelings.

Three topics of conversation proved to be admirably suitable for this purpose, viz., "What has struck you most in the Netherlands?" "What do you feel most deprived of here?" and "What worries you most at present?"

The subjects arising from these topics of conversation ~~wil~~be referred to as 'spontaneous themes'. Their subject matter and number underwent no change during the four phases of the investigation, as it proved. Only the proportions in which the themes were related by the refugees changed as time went on. Fortunately for us, we were thus able to use the spontaneous themes with their respective proportion changes as a canvas on which to weave the record of the investigation.

d. Method of: 'there-here' comparison.

The chief aim of our investigation was to describe the process of adaptation of the refugee to new ways of life, in terms of how he experienced and evaluated these. Our attention therefore was directed principally to those facets of the new environment, which by conflicting with corresponding facets of the environment ~~in his~~ country of origin had gained a marked significance in the refugee's awareness.

In order to arrive at these facets ample discussion was held in the preliminary investigation with ten refugee families and seven of their 'patrons'.

These were Dutch persons, who had lived and worked in Indonesia for many years, who were familiar with the atmosphere and style of living of the Indonesian Dutch considered in our investigation and who, being themselves exiled from the Indonesian community, had taken upon themselves the task of seeing to the wellbeing and the adaptation of those Indonesian Dutch in the Netherlands.

Each subject of the preliminary investigation seemed spontaneously to compare his former way of life with the present. This behaviour led us to formulate interview questions related to all those facets of the milieu advanced by most of the subjects in the preliminary investigation in such a way as to invite the comparison, of 'formerly' with 'now' and 'there' with 'here' for each single facet. An example may clarify this:

Hospitality

"If you knew someone in Indonesia well, could you just drop in and stay a while? Is it like that here, or not?"

"Which do you find more agreeable, the way they behave there or the way they behave here?"

It appeared that for a number of aspects, the experienced difference between there and here could be expressed quantitatively. For this purpose the subjects were asked to indicate on a rating scale equipped with two adjustable pointers the degree of favourable or unfavourable feeling he had towards a certain facet there and the same facet here. In this way the evaluations of the refugee could be expressed in measurable terms. For questions which did not allow such a there-here comparison but which did present a facet which could be evaluated higher or lower, the rating scale, illustrated below, was used also.

1.2.2 Methods of data analysis

a. Proportion method.

In practice, this method resolved itself simply into working out the percentage of families that reacted with a certain answer to each question. Since the same questions were brought up in all four phases of the investigation, it was possible to record changes in the refugees' attitudes during the first three years of their living and working in their new homeland, by noting the frequency of a certain reaction met with in the four successive phases.

This method too entertains several objections. The absolute value of a proportion, for instance, is influenced by what the interviewer sees in 'a certain answer'; for the refugees did not react to a question with a single, unambiguous word, but with words, sentences and expressions which permit various interpretations. An example to illustrate this:

The reaction to the question, "What do you miss here most of all?" was answered by a family, all in one breath, "Freedom"; "the countryside, the sunshine and the climate"; "my family"; "everything".

Similar reactions were the order of the day, so that at the end of a meeting, the interviewer himself had to sort out his material and class it into categories, without having clear cut criteria at his disposal. Therefore it was not always possible to distinguish diversity of 'objects' classed in one category. This fact naturally influenced both the absolute value of a calculated category proportion and the changes in the value of that category proportion for the successive phases of the investigation. An increase in the diversity of 'objects' grouped in one category is, after all attended by an increase of the proportional value of the said category and with the decrease in the changes of proportions during the successive phases.

This weakness in the proportional data of the investigation could have been avoided by giving the refugees unambiguously formulated questions with pre-

coded answers. Such a procedure seemed, however, undesirable in the present stage of investigation into the adaptation process of foreigners and, taking this into account, for the purpose of our investigation. With respect to the problem we are considering, a questionnaire presupposes inter alia,

- 1) that one knows the type of answer that can be given to his or that question;
- 2) that the recorded reactions give an equally valuable or even better picture of the underlying intention than the answers given to questions in a conversation;
- 3) that by means of a questionnaire the same, or more ready willingness to co-operate and be frank is obtained than by means of ordinary conversation.
- 4) that one already has a nuanced mental picture of the determinants of adaptation.

Comparative studies with regard to the above have, however, led us to believe that such presumptions are unjustified. Herein lies the reason why we, considering the theme of our investigation, decided to sacrifice strictness of method to the richness in meaning of the observable phenomena. Once the necessary descriptive work has been carried out, stricter methods for both the collection and analysis of data come up for consideration in order to test the validity of precisely formulated hypotheses which concern the interrelations of these data. In analysing the collected data, the proportion value and the changes in the proportion value of the answer categories have served as indices for the relative significance of environmental facets in the world of experience and evaluation of the refugee, at various points of time during his life in his second homeland.

b, Evaluation method

When discussing the method of 'there-here' comparison we indicated how the evaluation of refugees could be

coded answers. Such a procedure seemed, however, undesirable in the present stage of investigation into the adaptation process of foreigners and, taking this into account, for the purpose of our investigation. With respect to the problem we are considering, a questionnaire presupposes inter alia,

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b, Evaluation method

When discussing the method of 'there-here' comparison we indicated how the evaluation of refugees could be

expressed in measurable terms with the aid of a rating scale. On the basis of thus fixed indices of evaluations made by the refugees, changes in the evaluation of certain environmental aspects during the first three years of the refugees' stay in the Netherlands, could be measured.

1.3 COMPOSITION OF THE INTERVIEWED GROUP OF REFUGEES

The central institution which took the responsibility for registration, accommodation and guidance of the refugees provided the names and addresses of refugee families who fulfilled the following requirements:

- family with 2, 3 or 4 children;
- husband, wife and children born and bred in Indonesia;
- in the Netherlands for the first time in their lives;
- residing in the Netherlands for 2 months or less as yet;
- age of the husband and wife between 25 and 40 years;
- husband belonging to the group of lower technicians or lower administrative personnel;
- living in contracted boarding house* in A. or N. or in the vicinity of these towns.

Thus 40 families became available for this investigation. It is appropriate at this point to present in succession:

- employment carried on by the patres families in Indonesia (table 1);
- the age distribution of those patres in Phase I of the investigation (diagram 2);
- the distribution of the number of children per family in Phase I (diagram 3);
- the age distribution of children in Phase I (diagram 4);
- the months of the year 1958 in which the families disembarked in the Netherlands (diagram 5).

(Diagrams 2, 3, 4 and 5)

* the contracted boarding house, hereafter referred to as boarding house was contracted by the government for the accommodation of refugees.

Table 1

11A - 12

Employment carried on by patres familias in Indonesia
(according to their own accounts).

Lower technical	
19	Mechanic (car-, electro-) (15); technican (2); metal worker (1); chemist (1)
Lower administrative	
12	Office-clerk - administrative em- ployee (5); business employee (4); bookkeeper (3).
Lower management	
5	Superintendent of a warehouse, works manager or shop supervisor.
Miscellaneous	
	Signalman; bailiff; administrator in a coconut business; owner of small firm (awnings manufacture)

Diagram 2

" 3
" 4
" 5

1.4 FORMER POSITION IN THE INDONESIAN COMMUNITY OF THE REFUGEES.

13

The immigrant families, considered in this study of adaptation, belonged to the population of Indonesia before leaving for the Netherlands. That population is composed of exceptionally heterogeneous elements, which can be divided into four broad categories:

- a. Autochthons - Javanese, Madurese, Sumatrans, amongst others.
- b. Asiatic foreigners - Chinese, Siamese, Japanese, amongst others.
- c. European foreigners - including the colonisers of Indonesia: the Dutch, Germans, Arabs, etc..
- d. Mixtures, derived from all combinations of a, b, c and d.

The members of all the families in our investigation were born and bred in Indonesia and had never seen the Netherlands before 1958. They acquired Dutch nationality on the ground that one of the ancestors of the 'pater familias' had been a Dutchman from Holland. Their Dutch nationality, acquired in this way, caused them to be exiled with wife and children in 1958 out of Indonesia and subsequently to arrive in the Netherlands.

A distinguishing characteristic of this group of so-called Indonesian-Dutch is that their upbringing was in the Dutch language and style of living and that they are more Dutch than one would expect a Dutchman to be.

The Dutch community in Indonesia, to which our families belonged, portrayed a social economic structure in which we can distinguish five groups*.

* The following passages are, except for minor alterations, taken from:

De repatriëring uit Indonesië. Een onderzoek naar de integratie van de gepatriëerden uit Indonesia in de Nederlandse samenleving. Den Haag: Ministerie van Maatschappelijk Werk, 1957, pp. 59-63.

A. Dutchmen, who had gone temporarily to Indonesia and who were well aware of the temporariness of their stay. They made little attempt to adapt themselves to the Indonesian social surroundings; they rather took care not to become 'Indianized' and sought their social contacts mainly in their own circle. This exclusive group carefully guarded against penetration by outsiders, especially by those not of the same race. The 'white' swimming bath and the 'white' clubs as well as the monopolization of the highest functions in private concerns and of technical specialist functions reflected the mentality of this group.

This group of so-called 'tutoks' or true-born Europeans, was small but very influential in the community of colonizers.

B. A second group of Dutch, partly of mixed racial descent, came into contact in a variety of ways with the Indonesian community through their jobs. Most of them occupied functions in the government and especially in the services. Dispersed as they were throughout the archipelago, local possibilities and circumstances strongly influenced their patterns of behaviour. They displayed a great interest in Indonesian culture and art forms, but there remained, in general a considerable aloofness towards the Indonesian population. The physical evidence of their Asiatic blood was in many cases only slight since racial intermarriage had taken place in past generations.

C. A third, small group, with a limited influence in the community of colonizers comprised persons of lesser social status sent out by the Dutch Government; principally military men. These have been responsible, especially in the past, for the existence of Europeans of mixed blood.

ery importance within the European community in Indonesia was composed of people of mixed racial origins. It was characteristic of this group that, but for a few exceptions, all had permanently lived in Indonesia, where they were born and bred. Their upbringing and, more especially, their education had been modelled on the Dutch cultural pattern. They had occupied the middle classes. Racial backgrounds were extremely varied and included all the peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago, as well as a great number of European nations, Chinese, Arabs, Africans and Creoles from Dutch Guyana. Physical racial characteristics show a wide diversity. These differences, however, were largely subordinated to a common cultural pattern, which, even if adapted to Indonesian circumstances, revealed a Dutch substratum. Although many had never visited the Netherlands, in ambition and in awareness they were culturally Dutch.

E. Finally, we should mention the group that occupied the lowest rung in the social scale of the colonists' community. These were regarded by those at the top as living very close to the mass of the Indonesian population.

The families of our investigation for the main part belong to category D. Only a minority can be classified under category E. Because both their material livelihood and even their lives were under threat, they saw no other way out than to flee Indonesia. As part of a fourth and last wave of refugees from Indonesia, who have settled in the Netherlands since 1945, our 40 families disembarked from March to August inclusive, in the year 1958.

2. RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

16

2.1 SUBJECTS TALKED ABOUT, HOW OFTEN AND IN WHAT WAY

In order to obtain a substantial and reliable foundation for an adequate description of the circumstances of the refugees in the successive phases of the investigation, we thought it important that the following three-fold question should be answered; (a) with which subjects are these people occupied; (b) with what frequency are these subjects spontaneously brought up; and (c) in what manner are they discussed?

A preliminary investigation showed that the data which would supply an answer to this problem could be collected by raising three topics of conversation, viz., "What has struck you most in the Netherlands?" "What do you feel most deprived of here?" and "What worries you most at present?".

The reactions to these questions are summarised in Table 2 which shows us what it was that filled their hearts and spilled from their lips.

The collection of these data was carried out about three months after the arrival of the refugee families in the Netherlands, — during Phase I of the investigation.*

If this survey shows schematically which subjects the refugees chose to speak about as well as the frequency with which they harped on these subjects, then the following remarks show more precisely the subject matter and the way it was worded.

* The given percentages overlap each other. That is to say: a single family often brought up more than one topic in conversation.

SCHEME SHOWING REACTIONS TO THE THREE INITIAL QUESTIONS



Table 2

The 'spontaneous themes'	% refugee families spontaneously bringing up a subject (nf = 40)	Order of most heavily weighted subjects brought up in conversation topics:		
		'striking'	'deprivation'	'worry'
1. <u>The people and their behaviour</u>	92	1	-	-
2. <u>Appearance of environment, buildings, furnishing and arrangement of houses, gardens, streets, shops and buildings. (the scenery)</u>	90	2	-	-
3. <u>The freedom to do and leave undone; variation, conveniences, pleasure and amusements in every day life.</u>	85	3	-	-
4. <u>Finding a job</u>	77	-	-	1
5. <u>Regulation of the community</u>	60	4	-	-
6. <u>Making ends meet; improvement of one's standard of living.</u>	47	-	-	2
7. <u>Contact with others</u>	45	-	2	-
8. <u>The Climate</u>	40	5	-	-
9. <u>The food</u>	37	-	3	-
10. <u>The private dwelling</u>	30	-	-	3

--Subject brought up by 10% of families or less in conversation topic listed at head of column.

th.1 'People here always appear dressed up. I mean they wear a jacket, a tie and socks; that's what we put on when we go to a wedding. They're all wrapped up in suits and coats even when it isn't cold. But then you can't see anything of those lovely clothes underneath!

The girls serving in the shops, the butchers and the bakers all have a special kind of uniform: it's much nicer than everything higgeldy-piggeldy. Even the lower classes are neatly dressed here. There is a great difference between rich and poor; here you can't tell a lady from a servant girl. The Dutchman here is not like the Dutchman in Indonesia; here they are much more friendly and ready to help. But our hospitality there - they can't beat it! There it's more like one large family; here it's everyone for himself. They aren't so generous here either. You're never given a full cup of tea or coffee and they'll light a cigarette without so much as offering you one. They make contact with other people more easily than we do: they address you easily; they dare speak and act more openly, with a 'Hello!', and a clap on your shoulder. We're more reserved. Here they are more free in their behaviour, as you can well see from this business of making love in public, a thing we consider just not done. The children too are left to do more or less as they please; we keep them with us more. Here their language is rather coarse and rough. They say frankly what they mean; they express themselves openly and are rid of it. The Dutch are coarse, but they don't cherish feelings of hatred. The Indonesian Dutchman fosters his hatred for years; he's adapted that from the Eastern mentality. The average Dutchman is badly informed. They have no idea what Indonesia is like or who we are. They call you Ambonese or Indonesian; they think we walk barefooted there and ask us how it is we speak Dutch so well.'

th 2. 'All the houses are built of brick, it's so bare and dreary. It's as if they are only half-finished. In Indonesia they are plastered and whitewashed. Everything is built upwards, in storeys; here it's always upstairs and downstairs. Housing is so cramped, just like a doll's house, and there is very little, if any garden. People live on top of each other. It's true everything's just round the corner; the chemist's, the doctor and the shops. The roofs are different here, there like this: , here like this:  and all those chimneys! - you don't get them there. Many houses here have big glass windows but what they don't have is a verandah. The inside walls are well-papered and the floors are laid with linoleum. In Indonesia they have white walls and stone floors. We use carpets as wall decoration,

but here they put them on the floor.

The crowded shops, that's what struck us. They are so well stocked and kept so tidy. The shops are more specialised here. There you could get everything in a 'toko' or general store. The shop door here is closed and yet the shop is open. You don't like to go in. There the shop doors are open all day. If they are shut and you make your way in, it would mean you wanted to steal'.

th.3. 'There is no entertainment, no variety here. It's so monotonous! There you had all those friends and acquaintances and those homely parties which brought some variety; nearly every week. Sundays especially are dreadful here; no street vendors, nothing! Here everyday's the same.

You're so hemmed in here; you can't do anything; you can't go out because there isn't a housemaid that looks after the children. You're so tied to the place where you live. You're a slave of your house, and it's not so easy to leave your children in someone else's care. If you do go out it's so expensive. In Indonesia I went to the pictures about five times a week. I can't do that any more; I have to look after the children. In Indonesia the 'baboe' or nanny, did that. I had a motorbike and went out and about on it. That's not possible any more. I used to go out every Sunday hunting wild pigs. Here you've got to be rich. Here you're not allowed to cut down trees just like that. And if you want to keep chickens you have to have a permit. You can't go out just when you feel like it; the weather often prevents you. We miss the freedom!

th.4. 'At present my biggest worry is getting work and finding a good job'.

th.5. 'Everything is regulated and organized. There are set early closing days for the hairdresser, for the butcher and for the greengrocer. There's a special wash day and a day for the ironing. We in Indonesia don't have those obligatory days. The people in the Netherlands are insured against everything. Social welfare is excellent. In the Netherlands it's the general neatness that strikes you. Everything is so beautifully clean and cared for; the gardens and the meadows full of cows and the shops. It's clean and tidy wherever you go. You wonder what they do with all the dirt. You don't see any beggars in the streets; in Indonesia it's simply swarming with them'.

th.6 'What I'm worried about most is money; the under-payment you get here. Can we make ends meet? Especially when we have a place of our own? That's why I don't want the burden of it for the time being. We will never attain what [the standard of living] we

could have acquired in Indonesia. There are such limited prospects here. You don't have any extra sources of income here. The clothes we need here make heavy demands on our purses; especially since they have to be bought in advance in connection with the coming winter. Here in Holland, most of our money goes into fuel for heating purposes. You do worry now and again, you know, when the money is tight. But you do have first class social welfare here, so you'll never be destitute.

th.7. 'All my family is still in Indonesia. We're often homesick and write home every week. We miss the company of the family with whom we lived, together in the same house. Here we're thrown on our own resources so. The longing to be together again is very strong. Our homesickness isn't relieved, because we're not accepted by other people here. I do miss my circle of friends. Here you're a foreigner because you haven't grown up amongst these people. Real, trusted friends that we had out there that's what we miss here [pointing to two photo's on mantelpiece.] What we need very badly is contact with people here, where you can drop in and stay a while. We lack contact with the outside world. We don't even have contact with the neighbours. But still, the Dutch here are like that; they keep more to themselves!'

th.8. 'Compared to here, the scenery there is a paradise; much grander and more colourful. Trees and plants, and fruits and vegetables grow everywhere. There are always flowers and it's always green there. Here it rains all the year through; those puddles, ditches and rivers; those bare trees and greyness! In Indonesia there wasn't any sense talking about the weather; I understand now why they do it here. It's so flat and bare here. What we would call a little park they call a wood. The scenery here is so stiff and straight; it's just as if it's made by man instead of nature. Here nature follows the four seasons; it gets lighter earlier and earlier each morning and darker earlier and earlier each night. Then everything becomes green and blooms and bears fruit'.

The sun, scenery and mountains round us, that's what I miss here most of all! The open countryside! Sunshine, sir, that's number one with me'.

th.9. The food! Rice! All those fruits you get there and all those different vegetables! We miss our tasty dishes!'

th.10. 'We miss our house. Here we're stuck into one room. You feel like a prisoner. How much longer are we going to stay in this boarding house? When you have a house of your own, you're free to do as you please. Then

you can live you own life more; you don't get all those nosy parkers as you do here in the boarding house. It's awful. You can't do a thing here but it's noticed and made gossip in next to no time by many of the other boarders. You don't feel on your own and you're constantly having trouble because of the children. But with my salary I don't dare start keeping house'.

It is clear from these collected remarks that the refugee constantly compared everything new he met with all he left behind. Constantly, and more or less explicitly, a facet of the new environment ('here') was compared with a corresponding facet of the old and familiar environment ('there'). This comparative manner of recording experiences and evaluations seemed to come naturally to the refugee. This is why the topics of conversation were formulated in the interview in such a way that the refugee could compare the past with the present

2.2 A FRAMEWORK FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE REFUGEES

In our search for the framework in which the data of this investigation could be ordered and discussed, we found two guiding lines:

- a. The general order in importance of the spontaneous themes;
- b. the causes for not feeling at home in the Netherlands.

ref.a. Both table 3 (see pag.21a) and diagram 6 illustrate the proportions in which the ten spontaneous themes were related by the refugee families in the four successive phases.

(Diagram 6)

Determining the rank of the themes and calculating the correlation between the obtained series produced the following results:

$r_{I-II} = -.07$	$r_{II-III} = .78$
n.s.	$p < .05$
$r_{III-IV} = .72$	$r_{II-IV} = .61$
$p < .05$	$p < .05$

Bearing in mind the size of the correlation coefficients r_{II-III} and r_{III-IV} , the general order of themes for the Phases II, III and IV was found. Proceeding from high to low, the order was found to be:*

themes	3, 6, 10	1, 7	9, 8	5, 2
categories	1	2	3	4

The themes - thus put into order on the basis of their proportional weight - allowed, without reshuffling, of a grouping into four categories, which in accordance with the subjectmatter of the themes they encompassed, could easily be qualified and clearly distinguished. These were the followings:

* Theme 4 - 'employment' - has not been brought into consideration, because everyone had found work in Phases III and IV.

% FAMILIES THAT BROUGHT UP A CERTAIN THEME IN THE SUCCESSIVE PHASES

Table 3

T h e t e m e s	% families in the successive phases*			
	I n _f = 40	II n _f = 38	III n _f = 34	IV n _f = 30
1. The people and their behaviour	92	46	50	22
2. Appearance of environment, buildings, furnishing and arrangement of houses, gardens, streets, shops and buildings. (the scenery).	90	13	6	4
3. The freedom to do and leave undone; variation, conveniences, pleasure and amusements in every day life.	85	63	54	52
4. Finding a job**	77	47	-	-
5. Regulation of the community	60	15	12	13
6. Making ends meet; Improvement of one's standard of living.	47	40	65	60
7. Contact with others	45	42	40	24
8. The climate	40	28	24	12
9. The food	37	26	15	24
10. The private dwelling**	30	53	37	60

* The term 'family' is used here irrespective of whether the husband or the wife or both parents of a refugee family spoke on a certain theme.

** The percentages for 4 and 10 are based on how many of the nr-reacting families in a certain phase had no work or private dwelling, respectively.

1. The freedom to do and leave undone;
2. Integration in a social communicative pattern;
3. The vegetal-hedonistic aspects of the environment;
4. The panoramic aspects of the environment.

We shall return to our division into categories when the interpretation of the results of this investigation are under consideration.

ref.b. In Phases II, III and IV, in answer to a pertinent question, 95%, 77% and 50% of the families respectively answered that they did not feel at home in the Netherlands*.

(Diagram 7)

Those who reacted in this way were then asked:

"What, do you think, is the reason for this?"

As reaction to this question, the refugees gave what they considered to be the reasons for their not feeling at home in the Netherlands. It proved to be possible to place the reasons given into the classes of spontaneous themes without resorting to a forced classification.

Determination of the percentage of families giving one or more of the 'spontaneous themes' as a cause for their not feeling at home led to the results given in table 4. (p.22)^u
The establishment of the fact that the given reasons easily fit into the classes of spontaneous themes, together with the fact that the two most heavily weighted reasons - measured proportionally - belong to categories 1 and 2, have led us to use the four categories, listed above, as general view points in the more detailed description of the refugees' circumstances.

(Diagram 8)

* The term 'family' is used here irrespective of whether the husband or the wife both replied to the question posed.

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES BELIEVING A CERTAIN THEME TO BE THE CAUSE
OF THEIR NOT FEELING AT HOME IN THE NETHERLANDS

Table 4

T h e T h e m e s	II* n _f ' = 31	III n _f ' = 30	IV n _f ' = 10
1. <u>The people and their behaviour</u>	23	27	-
2. <u>Appearance of environment, buildings, furnishing and arrangement of houses, gardens, streets, shops and buildings. (the scenery)</u>	-	-	-
3. <u>The freedom to do and leave undone; variation, conveniences, pleasure and amusements in every day life.</u>	45	23	33
4. <u>Finding a job</u>	-	-	-
5. <u>Regulation of the community</u>	-	-	-
6. <u>Making ends meet; Improvement of one's standard of living.</u>	-	-	-
7. <u>Contact with others</u>	50	53	70
8. <u>The climate</u>	-	-	-
9. <u>The food</u>	-	-	-
10. <u>The private dwelling</u>	29	27	-

* n_f' means: the number of families that gave one or more causes for their not feeling at home in the Netherlands. Percentages of 20 and under are not considered.

Before presenting the results, we shall reproduce literally some remarks, in order to illustrate how the refugees phrased their feelings and explained why they did not feel at home in the Netherlands.

From Phase II

"Both my wife and I are homesick. If we happen to hear Pat Boone or see a film we saw there, how we long to be back in Indonesia! You do miss your friends; in Indonesia you get together in the evening. We don't feel at home here because of the surroundings in which you live. In Indonesia we were used to the customs and habits, to those badjah's and street vendors..."

"I am often homesick ... My whole family is still out there... We used to go round such a lot together. I write every week and nearly every week I receive a letter in return."

Notes

[This woman, who lives with her husband and two children in one small room, bursts into tears when she speaks of her homesickness and attachment to her family.]

"Why we don't feel at home here? That's because you don't fully share their point of view and ways".

"What am I and who am I here, [in the Netherlands?] I don't belong and that's wretched. I've never been so miserable as I am here. My wife wants to go back, just as I do; we'll never stay here!"

"You don't feel at home here, because you don't have any contact with people. You don't really dare, you don't know what they're like; you've still got to get used to it. You don't know how they're going to take it if you come; you don't know their ways yet."

From Phase III

"I miss the scenery of Indonesia and the bustle and that going and coming and stopping where you want. Here you've got to know exactly what attitude you should have. You're afraid that the way you behave and dress will cause criticism from them [the Dutch] and make them stare at you. They do stare at you so here; you feel that they keep looking at you. They've invited us more than once to come and drink a cup of coffee, but we've never accepted. I'd rather they come here. You never can tell what's expected of you when you visit the Dutch. I feel at home in my house; I can sit as I want. You're also afraid that you make obligations."

Notes

[This woman, who lives in a private dwelling has fairly regular contact with two or three neighbours. The children of the neighbours yell out now and then: 'coal black nigger' and chin chin Chinaman.]

"Here, in my own place, I feel at home. But in the market or watching a cooking demonstration, I don't feel at ease. It's as if I have a little world of my own here [at home], with the children around me. Perhaps that's why it's so hard to get outside.

[Do you feel at home here in the Netherlands?]

"No! The thing is we've got to stay here, otherwise I wouldn't. We get a sort of homesickness now and then. That country, the scabery and the freedom out there! It's worse in the winter. Oh, you get used to work and the place you live in, but I shall never feel really at home here. That inner feeling of homesickness remains".

"When summer begins I feel at home. But when autumn sets in I long for Indonesia. You do miss those street-vendors, those 'bedjah's', bustle in the streets and lots more things, too numerous to mention. You miss the whole environment you were used to there.

[Shows a postcard of a street in Bandoeng.] That boarding house life with its, "this is not allowed" and its, "That's not right", drives you mad."

"We feel at home here? No I don't! I'm often homesick, especially on uneventful days. You don't know anyone here; you're so much on your own. There everything is open for all to see; here everything is shut up; you don't see anyone, you live on your own. You don't get further than, "How do you do" and "Good morning". We do have a great deal of contact with Indonesian families; we stick to each other."

"I feel much more at home than 2 years ago, but not altogether yet. Our way of doing things, our views and our way of thinking are different, you see. When I behave as I think I should to be polite, Dutch people think I'm overdoing it and being insincere."

"In the beginning I was homesick, but that's over now. We used to talk a lot about out there. Nowadays weeks may pass without our mentioning the subject. The others in the boarding house also do it less. We used to listen constantly to news items and read newspapers sent to us from out there. We hardly ever do that now. This finished about a year after our arrival here. They're still quite willing to send newspapers, but I said they weren't to bother."

2.3 SPECIFIED DESCRIPTION OF THE REFUGEES' EVALUATIONS OF HIS NEW WAY OF LIFE AS EXPERIENCED THROUGHOUT THE SUCCESSIVE PHASES OF THE INVESTIGATION .(see page 25)

2.3.1 The freedom to do and leave undone

2.3.1.1 Daily rhythm and occupations

Under this heading we shall consider what it is that keeps one busy and fills an ordinary day and the effect of this occupation on the way in which such a day is experienced. We are interested especially in the ordinary day's experiences. Had we tried to find information about this from people who had never experienced anything other than such an ordinary day, we should have been confronted with the greatest difficulties for is there a harder task than to describe the significance for us of the familiar, of the commonplace? Only when the familiar routine is broken does it receive attention through contrasting with the new way of life that has to be faced. Then the familiar becomes that which is longed for until adaptation to the unfamiliar is complete; until, indeed the new situation has become familiar.

A break in the familiar way of life has been the lot of these refugees. It is for this reason that we were able to find out the significance for these people of their former homeland. For many reasons, obviously, their report will be coloured. This, however, is not regrettable. We are, after all, in this investigation, interested not in the objective truth of that report, but only in the subjective experiences which can be read from it. Our investigation attempted to gauge these subjective experiences in order to describe and where possible, to explain the process of adaptation to a new way of life as a socio-psychological occurrence.

In table 3, which showed us the changes in proportion of the spontaneous themes, theme 3 is the most striking because of the high value

of the percentages in each of the four phases. It is the theme, moreover, with the highest average proportion. Many of the refugees brought up this theme, using the term 'freedom', on being asked what it was they felt most deprived of in the Netherlands. This statement seems contradictory. After all, the refugees fled from their homeland because of the limitations set on their freedom there. Now, in a country, where freedom and human rights are held in high esteem, these people say that they miss their 'freedom'. Evidently they are talking about something other than freedom in the usual sense of the word, as other remarks occasioned by the question posed show;

'In Indonesia you had space; a house of your own with a verandah (or terrace) and a compound, You could go into the garden in your pyjamas during the daytime; you could go fishing or hunting where and when you wanted. You could take on jobs for extra money and treat yourself to something'.

'You could drop in to friends and relations if you felt like it; you could go out to the cinema or restaurant if that took your fancy, because you had servants who would look after the children and do much of the housework. You had freedom of action. Here you live in one of those little rooms, in which you have to do everything. You can't move; you feel like a prisoner. If you go outside, there isn't any space either. The people here live on top of each other. Everywhere is overcrowded. You can't stretch out your wings in the Netherlands; there are so many rules here, so many regulations and for every job diplomas are asked'.

While some refugees referred to all this with the term 'freedom', others used the term 'living'. Apparently by this they meant the way of life and atmosphere of the milieu in which they had grown up from childhood and in which they felt at ease. This feeling at ease in the old familiar milieu was anchored in many obtaining circumstances. One was usually not or hardly conscious of these circumstances. Confrontation with totally

different conditions wrought thorough changes in these circumstances. It was these circumstances which had determined that feeling at ease in the old environment but which were missing in the new, and which now came into focus in the subjective experience and attention of the refugees.

That the circumstances of life in the Netherlands have deprived the refugee of conveniences that he enjoyed in Indonesia, may appear from the results of the only written questionnaire that was given within the frame of the investigation reported here. It asked that the relative share in 49 household jobs should be filled in, for husband, wife and someone else respectively.

Our literal request was as follows:

'In your household in Indonesia there were, of course, always jobs to be done, What I should like very much to know is what share the husband the wife, or someone else took. Will you together determine that share for each of the jobs listed below? For each job you have 10 marks to divide between the three.

Example: 'gardening'

If the gardening was never done by husband or wife but always by someone else, - e.g. a gardener or a servant — then we have:

<u>gardening</u>	husband	wife	someone else
	0	0	10

If, however, the gardening was done by the husband in 6 out of 10 cases, by the wife in 1 out of 10 cases, and by someone else in 3 out of 10 cases, then we have:

<u>gardening</u>	husband	wife	someone else
	6	1	3

If you did not have a garden in Indonesia, do not fill in anything; simply cross out the word, 'gardening'".

This questionnaire was applied twice. On the first occasion, about half a year after the date of arrival in the Netherlands, the questionnaire

was concerned with household occupations in Indonesia; on the second, about 2½ years after arrival, it was concerned with household occupations in Holland. In order to compare 'there' with 'here', we chose those families who, upon the second presentation, had already lived for three months at least in a private dwelling, and who had, moreover, reacted to our request the first time. Thus we found 15 families, whose data from the first as well as from the second questionnaire were available. On the basis of data from these 15 families, the average share taken by husband, wife, and someone else in those household tasks showing the greatest differences between 'there' and 'here' was worked out. The results of these comparisons are illustrated in the diagram below.

(Diagram 9)

The results show that for these 13 occupations, the wife's share increased from 23% to 73% and the husband's from 6% to 21%. If one realizes that this 'someone else' in Indonesia was a servant, while in Holland it was usually one of the younger children, capable of carrying out only the simplest of tasks under his mother's observation it will be even clearer how much more the refugee wife was burdened by circumstances under which she was obliged to accomplish her household tasks. Having to do everything oneself tied the refugees to their home. Whereas it was possible in Indonesia to leave the many tasks - including the care of children - to a servant, in order to go with chatting women friends to the market or to go out for any other reasons, unhampered,

in Holland this belonged to the past.

Besides the lack of servants there were however also the husband's limited income and the lack of a typically Dutch sense of thrift and judgment in spending money. In Indonesia neither circumstances nor morals enforced such a way of dealing with money. One lived from day to day and had no need to take thought for the morrow — at least, before the distress accompanying the transfer of sovereignty began. If financial difficulties did crop up, there were many ways open to one to earn extra money, something that appeared to be almost out of the question for these people in the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands one does not get round to regular cinema going or frequent visits together to a restaurant for a good meal. Everyday is monotonously like the one before. There is little or no opportunity for variation, pleasure and amusements. All this was clearly expressed in reactions to the questions:

"Have you had moments that you have felt bored here or not? How do you explain this?"

'Life here is so monotonous and without any variation. If only something would happen, I don't care what! There's no change here, no amusements. There's nothing to cheer you up. We haven't got money for extra things like the cinema or any other diversion'.

'Indonesia is full of variety. You could sometimes go out; you would go together to the shops and buy lots at a time — materials, sewing thread, buttons. You went for a meal in a restaurant and after that, home. Then to the evening market to buy vegetables. We did that especially when my husband had been given his wages'.

'Here you're more of a prisoner in your house and of your children because you have no servant who can look after them. You keep at home all day. What they do here is sit reading a book by the light of a standard lamp. Terrible! The scenery there, that was a different state of affairs!'

'You don't know anyone here to talk to; you just don't know anyone to go to. There's no sociability with friends and acquaintances as there was out there'.

30

We examined how many percent of the patres families gave an affirmative answer to our question as to whether they felt bored, in the successive phases. Diagram 10 clearly shows a decrease in the percentage with time. It is surprising to note that 2 and 3 years after arrival in the Netherlands, as many as 54% and 43% of the heads of families still admitted of occasional boredom in spite of the fact that by then they all had jobs. It seems more than likely that the loss of sociability and companionship with friends and acquaintances was one of the factors that accounted for the daily monotony and boredom.

The non-integration in a social communicative pattern appears to be a principal determining factor of the way in which the refugees experienced their new existence, and was responsible for the tone of many of their expressions, as we shall see in greater detail later.

(Diagram 10)

2.3.1.2 The cares of life

The pattern of worries, as far as it was expressed in the reactions of the refugees to the questions: "What worries you most at present?" was an extremely simple one, as the diagram below shows.

(Diagram 11)

The dominant worry in Phases I and II was apparently the finding of employment. Once work had been found, however, the concern about how

to improve one's standard of living ~~large~~. The opportunity for improving it was assessed in the successive phases, the results being shown in diagram 12.

(Diagram 12)

Most of the patres familias pointed to the fact that they possessed no diplomas regarded as valid in the Netherlands, as ground for their low assessment of opportunity to improve their standard of living. Only by studying could one find a better paid job in the Netherlands. If one did not do this, one would reach one's maximum pay-rate very quickly.

The type of work that they carried out was favourably criticised in Phases II, III and IV by 28%, 38% and 52% of the men respectively. Those that found their work disagreeable usually argued their objection by saying that the work was soul-destroying; that it was routine work for which you did not have to use your brains.

(Diagram 13)

The proportional increase of the worry about improving one's standard of living is very probably connected with the fact that living in a private dwelling, especially to begin with, makes heavy demands on the size of the budget as well as on the spending sense of the refugee families. In the period between Phases I and II many families moved into a private dwelling, as diagram 14 shows.

(Diagram 14)

-Everything for the private dwelling had to be purchased - furniture, floor and wall furnishings, stove, cutlery, crockery and kitchen equipment. If this acquisition were not kept within the bounds of the available budget, one came into financial straits immediately. While one was certain, in the boarding house, of a roof over one's head and food, heating and lighting, this was not the case in the private dwelling. Thus the utmost care had to be taken to spend the limited salary prudently. Moreover it should be borne in mind that the urge to buy is greater than normal in the case of people furnishing a new home, while the sense of thrift was cultivated less in Indonesia than appears to be useful and necessary in the Netherlands. Besides, up to that time, the refugees had been unfamiliar with the persuasive presentation of consumer goods on the Dutch market.

Possibilities of extra earning in the Netherlands appeared non-existent for the refugees, while the chances of climbing up the financial - and functional - scale were very small. The latter was partly due to the fact that Dutch diplomas, not possessed by the refugees, were required for all sorts of functions.

As an explanation of the presumption expressed above, a few remarks made by the refugees may serve:

"A house of one's own brings more worries. You know what the matter is? We can't manage money".

"We worry about just one thing: that you live with furniture that is not yet paid for. By the time the furniture is paid for, it will be worn out. But we've got to live in a house which we're not ashamed to show to other people! Everything goes into fitting up our house! In Indonesia a gas stove, refrigerator, washing machine and so on were terribly expensive. Here you can get all these on the hire purchase system".

"You've got to see to everything yourself, especially with a house of your own: rent, heating, clothes, etc."

"We're getting a house in H... but we're dreading it, especially if we ask ourselves how we're going to make ends meet. Here (in the boarding house) you're sure of your food, your warmth and a roof over your head. There's security for you!"

"Am I going to make ends meet? It will be difficult in a place of our own, especially to begin with. Out there we were always used to living very comfortably."

"All that care and trouble to make pay spin out till the end of the week! Especially now we have to keep house entirely by ourselves."

The fact that only a fairly small percentage of the refugees expressed longing for a private dwelling -or, in other words dissatisfaction with the circumscribed life in a boarding house- many presumably backgrounded in the fear, shared by many, that they would not be able to make ends meet with the available wages if they themselves had to cover the entire cost of the housekeeping. This fear was probably strengthened by the increased number of householders who gave information, based on experience, on this subject. Some of the above quoted remarks show clearly the existence of such a fear. The need however, for a private dwelling -based on the desire for family privacy remained urgent.

A worry that came to the fore only later concerned the wellbeing of the children. Apparently the worry was not about the future prosperity of the children. The refugees were, in fact, convinced that their children would have more success than they themselves. Their children had no adaptation difficulties; they

had felt at home in the Netherlands for a long time. Moreover they received their schooling in the Netherlands, so that later, with their Dutch diplomas, they could apply for jobs on a par with the autochton, Favourable judgments were thus given about the children's futures, as diagram 15 illustrated:

(Diagram 15)

The worry about the children arose, as was apparent from the reactions of the refugees to the worry question, from the fear that they be involved in a traffic accident or enticed to follow some depraved man or that they -especially the girls- became involved with indecent behaviour with boys, seeing the youth had so much freedom in the Netherlands.

In Indonesia most of the children were too young to go to school. Those that had attained schoolgoing age were taken to school. In the Netherlands, however, the mother really had no time to do this. The housework, that she had to do by herself took up all her time; especially when she had a home to run. The papers each day reported traffic accidents involving children, while the more sensational papers presented an occasional case of assault as a long drawn out 'story'. The intimate companionship of boys and girls in the Netherlands was to be seen every day. It was repellent because it conflicted with behaviour which was socially accepted in Indonesia.

"I'am worried in case the children are involved in a traffic accident on the way to school!"

"What's to become of the children? Especially if you read what it says in the papers!"

"I'm worried about my daughter's companionship with other people -because you do read such nasty stories in the paper. I just hope we can prepare her for life!"

"You hear such a lot here about children who are enticed away by someone. Our middle child especially is easily coaxed with sweets. What we do now is frighten them."

"We worry about how to bring up the children here. They fall into bad ways so quickly; they loose respect for their elders so soon. If you just heard what children say to their parents!..."

The increase with time of the percentage of families that expressed worry about the well-being of the children is presumably related to the number of children reaching school going age. *Disregarding the children that were born after the first phase, it may be seen that the median age of the children in each of the successive phases was:

3.6, 4.2, 5.0, 6.1 years resp., with a semi-interquartile range of about 2 years.

2.3.1.3 The desire for a private dwelling

Life in a contracted boarding house gave many refugee families the feeling of lack of privacy. One always had to consider the other boarders and there was continual quarrelling and gossiping because of the children. The wife especially expressed the desire to escape the pressure of living at such close quarters to other families.

"My greatest worry is housing so that you can live your own life more without all those nosy-parkers you get in this boarding-house. It's awful. You can't do a thing here without everyone knowing all about it and gossiping."

"You're not free here. You always have to consider other people."

* Diagram 4 gives the distribution of the ages of the children in the first phase.

"I worry about getting a house, so that there's more room, but especially because you have no privacy here and seem to be involved in quarrels about the children all the time."

Other factors giving tension, and closely connected with the circumstances of life in a boarding house, were:

the limited space one had -not seldom just one room in which one lived, worked and slept, together with two or three children; the unemployed husbands staying at home the whole time; not possessing enough money to pay somebody to look after the children so as to be able to get out of an evening to a cinema, restaurant or elsewhere; the very limited play-space for children who constantly required supervision, especially in the winter months; etc.

Whilst these factors often tended to weaken family bonds, hurtful experiences through contact with the manners, views, customs and habits of the autochthon in their community, often caused husband and wife to seek each other's support.

According to the reactions to a pertinent question posed in the first phase of the investigation, the general state of emergency caused by the expulsion from their fatherland led many of the refugees to experience the strengthening of family bonds. The question posed was:

"Do you believe that the family bond has grown stronger here than it was out there, or has it grown looser? In what way?"

This question aroused shyness in the parents often followed by mutual glances and smiles. Of the 31 families to whom the question was put in Phase II

45% admitted that the family bond was closer; 13% said that they had come to rely more upon each other here in the Netherlands; while 42% did not express their feelings on this point, or else did not do so clearly one way or the other.

2.3.2 Integration in a social communicative pattern

2.3.2.1 Contact with members of the family, friends and acquaintances

Table 4 lists the causes, given by the refugees themselves, for their not feeling at home in the Netherlands.

'Contact with others' given as a cause, appears to have the highest percentage, regardless of which phase is considered. For Phases II, III and IV the values were 50%, 53% and 70% respectively.

The category named by us 'social contact' covered families who could be divided into two groups, viz., those who missed contact with relatives, friends and acquaintances in the land they had fled, and those who felt they had insufficient contact with people in the country that had received them. For this reason it was ascertained in what proportion these groups formed the above percentages. The results may be seen in table 5.

Table 5	% of those families stating lack of contact as cause for not feeling at home in Neths. in successive phases		
	II (n _F = 15)	III (n _F = 16)	IV (n _F = 7)
(a) causes: contact with people <u>out</u> there broken	73%	38%	29%
(b) causes: contact with people <u>here</u> insufficient	27%	62%	71%

(Diagram 16)

These figures show clearly that as time proceeds, the stated causes for not feeling at home shifted in emphasis: broken contact with people out there decreased; insufficient contact with people here increased.

The gradual with-drawal of contacts previously sustained with people out there, which took place simultaneously with the increasing focussing of interest on contact with people of the new environment may, we believe, serve as a reliable index for the progress of adaptation, particularly at the level of interpersonal communication between refugee and autochtone.

We shall return later to the theme of interpersonal contact between refugee and autochthon, viz., in paragraphs 2.3.2.3. Since we are interested here in contact with relatives, friends and acquaintances in Indonesia, it will suffice to reproduce some of the remarks made by the refugees.

"I often feel homesick; my whole family is still out there".

"My mother and sisters are all still in Indonesia. I feel very homesick; especially in moonlight." [woman]

"Do you feel at home here in Holland?"

" No, I don't. I haven't got my family here. If they were, especially my mother, I would".
[woman]

"We miss our parents and relations. There were

eleven of us when we were still out there. That longing to be together with them is so strong."

"We miss contact with friends and acquaintances."

"That friendly contact out there with people you knew, you don't get that here."

"Real, trusted friends!" [Pointing to the mantelpiece at two photographs of a couple of friends left behind in Indonesia]

"I miss my circle of friends. You're a stranger here; you haven't grown up with the others here."

"The family! I don't receive any more letters from Indonesia. -That's terrible... 'How are they getting on', I keep asking myself".

"Oh, I've got my mother and three sisters all living here in the same street. What more could you want?"

"I do get homesick now and again, especially when I receive a letter from my sister." [women].

"I miss my circle friends and the way you could just drop in on somebody. Here you only have your own family and the newspaper." [man]

"I miss my friends and acquaintances with whom you could have such a good time."

2.3.2.2 Differences between refugee and autochthon

Using the actual remarks made by the refugees, we can reproduce their general opinion concerning the autochthonous population, as follows.

'The Dutch here are certainly friendly and helpful, but still remain a little distant. Their association with us is not free and easy; rather somewhat stiff and starched. They feel superior; they look down on us. In their eyes we are a lesser sort of people, who possess few abilities and are lax. Many are badly informed about who we actually are or what we were out there. They think that we are Indonesian or else Ambonese, that we lived in straw huts, that we have never walked in shoes and that we used to sleep on the ground.

Many are amazed we speak Dutch. We are not seldom looked upon as intruders, who make the labour market difficult for the people here and for whom extra taxes have to be paid. Some consider that we are better off than they; that it's easier for us to get something done by the Government, like getting a house.'

'They're freer than we are in their relations with others. They are often tactless in what they say and sometimes downright rude. They lack courtesy, especially towards women, and their lack of respect for superiors is very noticeable. Whatever they think and feel, they say out loud, while we conceal it all; it's part of our Eastern mentality, I suppose. They are, however, less easily hurt than we are; and not so quick-tempered. We seem to leave them quite indifferent. When it comes to money, they're calculating and mean. They have the attitude of: 'each for himself and God for us all'. 'Thriftiness and a passion for saving is more in their line. They're prepared to spend a lot on clothes and luxuries, but little on food. They are less hospitable than we.'

The above remarks were obtained in answer to two conversation theme questions, namely: "What is your opinion of the people here?" and "What do people here think of the Indonesian Dutch?" It proved to be impracticable to limit those that were questioned to this first conversational topic. Many came up directly with answers that fitted the second one, which had not even been put to them as yet. This fact points to the great sensitivity on the part of these refugees for the autochthon's opinion and attitude concerning them. This sensitivity is seen yet more clearly in the considerable number of families that spontaneously said that the Dutchman felt himself superior and was very overweening in his judgment of them. Diagram 17 which tells us something of the way in which the refugee experiences the relationship

between himself and the autochthon, leaves no doubt of the refugees' feeling of inferiority.

(Diagram 17)

The fact that these refugees are handicapped by this idea of being inferior with respect to the autochthon, also becomes apparent from measurable data we were able to collect. For these, the interviewed person was asked to indicate on the interval scale how favourable or unfavourable his opinions were about 'people here' and how he thought he was regarded by the 'people here'. The results of these quantitative evaluations for each of the four phases of the investigation are illustrated in diagram 18*.

(Diagram 18)

The harm inflicted upon our Indonesian Dutch by the historical developments within the Indonesian community, and which became manifest in the Indo-European Movement, has been so deeply engraved into their attitudes that it probably will not be effaced within their lifetimes. They came to the Netherlands fully expecting the Dutch to be no different from those they knew in the Dutch Community in Indonesia; and that they would be looked down upon as an inferior kind of people, just as had been the case over there.

/* The bars of the diagram give the average value, calculated for those people who gave their evaluation both with respect to a) and b). The significances were determined by the Wilcoxon signed rank test. The possibility of the scores showing a systematic course was examined in two ways. Neither gave a significant result.

From some of their remarks, however, this proved not to be as bad as they had expected.

"That attitude of looking down on us is not so hateful as it was over there".

Nevertheless, the notion of being inferior to the white Dutchman with his West European manners and of being regarded as inferior remained. Throughout all those years in Indonesia it was as if it had grown as a fleecy veil before his eyes, colouring all his views about the Dutchman. In addition, every noticed difference of behaviour and ideas was syncretically geared to the difference in pigmentation that existed between the refugee and the Dutch. His dusky skin was the most tangible confirmation of his ingrained conviction that he was regarded by the West European, and especially by the Dutch, as an inferior kind of human being. Although the Dutchman's behaviour and conduct in the Netherlands seemed to underline this idea of inferiority less saliently than the same did in Indonesia, the notion itself was still held. The fact that the idea of inferiority was less sharply accentuated in the Netherlands than had been the case out there, is a factor that has most probably influenced the favourable appreciation of the antiochthorous people's behaviour in the new milieu. In spite of this notion of being inferior — or perhaps, because of it, — there existed among the Indonesian Dutch unmistakably the need to adopt the behaviour, customs and habits of the Dutch, or to put it more accurately, they wished to be accepted as people who have enjoyed a Western education. No wonder they were upset when they noticed amazement, expressed by Dutch people in Holland, about the fact that they spoke Dutch, that they were neither Indonesian nor Ambonese and that they had never walked

barefooted, slept on the ground or lived in straw huts.

The fact that the Dutch satisfied the refugees' picture of a West-European civilisation may be viewed as a second factor -next to the comparatively less haughty attitude of the Dutch in the Netherlands- which contributed to the refugees' rather favourable opinion about the Dutch who live in Holland. It seems very likely that both these factors did play a considerable part in the process of adaptation.

Let us return to diagram 17, which requires our attention for two further reasons. From it we see that the friendliness and helpfulness of Dutch people was remarked upon by 70% of the refugees in Phase I, while in Phases II and III only 20% of the families did so. We consider that this may be ascribed to three circumstances. There is, first of all, the particular benevolence and care shown by the Dutch Government in the reception and housing of the refugees, for which they generally expressed appreciation, at any rate in Phase I. Secondly, it is worth considering that the porter who offered to carry the refugees' luggage was a white Dutchman, as was the busdriver who took them to the reception centre. In Indonesia it was unheard of that these jobs should be carried out by anyone other than the native coolie, who was inferior to the Indonesian-Dutch as far as social status went. Many were so put out by this switch of circumstances, that they could not find it in themselves to accept the offer of the Dutch porter. Those that did,

often paid exceptionally high tips, according to Dutch standards, in return for this service. As a third reason for the friendliness and helpfulness of the Dutch so frequently alluded to in Phase I, they pointed to a factor already discussed by us, namely that they had been agreeably surprised about the comparatively less haughty attitude of the Dutchman in Holland which was especially marked 'by force of contrast' in the first phase.

A second phenomenon seen in diagram 17 and requiring our attention is what we should call nuanced mode of expression. By this we mean that to certain questions the reaction is not, for example: 'the Dutch are like this', or, 'the Dutch think that about us, but: 'it depends who you're dealing with; what sort of position he has; or what part of the country you live in'. We see in the diagram that the percentage of families that express themselves in this conditional way increases as we proceed from Phase I to Phase IV. In this increase we presume to have an index for the progress of adaptation by these refugees.

A phenomenon analogous to the one discussed above is that of extenuating circumstances. We mean by this that the refugee extenuates the behaviour of the autochthon which he considers reprehensible by making out that the autochthon is not to blame. We shall return to this phenomenon when discussing the evaluation of Dutch hospitality.

It is now important to consider what infor-
mation about the new environment was given
and through which channels this information
reached the refugees. As is often the case
with negative attitudes, the persistency with
which they are held depends on wrong or in-
sufficient knowledge about the psychological
object to which these attitudes refer.
Unfortunately we do not possess sufficient
data for well-founded answers to both these
questions.

But for one exception, all the families of
our investigation arrived by boat in the
Netherlands. During the journey they had
been instructed by repatriation officials
about the conditions of life and work in the
Netherlands. The instruction continued for
the few days that the refugees spent in the
so-called reception centres. Once they had
moved to a government-contracted boarding
house, it was the so-called contact-officer
and the social worker that could be consulted
as the official sources of information.
The Dutch population too was repeatedly kept
informed, via the press and the radio, about
the living conditions of the Indonesian
Dutch, about their flight to and their
rehabilitation in the Netherlands and
about ways in which one might lend a hel-
ping hand, both by one's attitude and by
actual assistance, in building up a new
existence. In spite of this, many remained
ignorant, distrustful and only passively
benevolent. Moreover, one was little put
out by these people, characterized by
their Eastern pliability and consequently,

easily forgot the very tragic circumstances which encompassed them through no fault of their own. Lack of reliable data does not allow us to be more precise about the instruction given to both the refugee and to the autochton receiving him. Let us limit ourselves, therefore, to the data concerning the channels through which our refugees received information about their new milieu. These data were answers to the conversation topic question, posed only in Phase I, "If you want to know how things are done here, how do you find out? (for example: in order to find work; where you can buy things cheapest; what you have to be careful about when you meet people here; etc.)" The reactions of those who were interviewed, while they were living in a boarding house together with their fellows, are arranged according to the proportion of their frequency in table 6.

Table 6

Information about the new milieu received via:	% families ($n_f = 35$)
Boarding house guests; especially those longer resident in the Netherlands	73
Owner of boarding house	22
Family members in the Netherlands	19
Contact-officer	16
Social worker	11
Dutch acquaintances	8
The newspaper	8
Labour exchange (with regard to work)	8

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73% of the families, thus said that they sought their information about the new milieu from fellow refugees. Organised contacts with the contact officer or/and the social worker were counted as information sources by only seven, or 20%, of the families.

These data indicate that this information, in Phase I, was obtained mainly through informal channels and it is probable that the instruction they received was thus seen in a biased way. They also support the argument that the coming into being of the informal channels lies in the common cultural background and shared fortunes of informer and informant as well as in their living together at close quarters in the same boarding house, village or town.

- If what the refugees told us about their sources of information was correct - and there was enough reason to presume this- then the fact that about 3/4 of the families of our investigation obtained their information from fellow refugees, implies an unfortunate increase in the likelihood of generating, maintaining, impregnating and collectivizing an unfavourable attitude-pattern, which through its negativism, might hamper the adaptation of the immigrant. To what extent this was actually the case, could not be ascertained.

We paid special attention to this point only because it seems worth posing the question as to whether the instruction programme, thought out on paper, corresponds to what the immigrants spontaneously do out of their need to find their feet in that strange milieu which initially shows such an indistinct structure.

Great is the difference found by the refugees between the hospitality of their own people in Indonesia and that of the people in their new fatherland, the Dutch. And this difference remains considerable right up into the fourth phase of the investigation, as diagram 19 shows.

(Diagram 19)

On the subject of hospitality remarks were made in the following strains:

'Out there people are far more hospitable than here. They never think of offering you anything straightaway here, and you can be standing talking for an hour without being offered anything to drink. They're mean here; saving is their main concern; with us it's food. And if they do offer you something, it's as if they're thinking: that's costing me so much. Whatever you do get is measured out, and then it's a cup of tea or something; the hostess goes round with a tin of biscuits, which afterwards disappears into the cupboard again. Some people ask you, "How many potatoes will you want", because they think it's a shame to have to throw anything away. It's all so proper here and if you give anything they expect it from you in return. If you want to go and see them you have to make an appointment first; if you arrive uninvited you're stared at in an unwelcoming way.'

'If a guest did not stay for a meal in Indonesia it was usually taken as an insult. We always cooked plenty, so that one or two unexpected guests could also partake of a full meal. We appreciated it if he took a helping from every dish we put before him; this was a sure sign he felt at home. But here you're left standing at the door if you call on someone.'

The sharp contrast drawn by the refugees between hospitality in Indonesia and hospitality here, seems to us to have arisen from loss of contact with others, who could satisfy both the need to fit into a wider social pattern and vegetal hedonistic needs.

However, their own inability to establish

contacts with the autochtons - resulting from their feeling of inferiority as discussed above - also appears to have contributed towards their finding fault with Dutch hospitality.

We shall discuss the above mentioned inability when considering the subject, 'contact with people from the receiving country' (2.3.2.3).

The often acutely felt limitation of the standard of living to which they were forced by their new circumstances, leads some refugees to plead extenuating circumstances for the hospitality of the autochtons, which he considers reprehensible. In Phases I and II together there were seven different families that expressed themselves in these words:

'The people here earn less; nor do they have any extra earnings. They are not able to employ any servants, as we were in Indonesia and so they have to do all the housework themselves.'

The lowered standard of living leads some to go further than pleading extenuating circumstances. Both in Phase I and in Phase II, in fact, four different families arrived at what we should call hetero-social identity experience. By this we mean that one has oneself admitted of adopting from the autochton some characteristic, previously considered reprehensible. We consider this hetero-social identity experience as an index of the progress of adaptation, especially at the level of practical conduct. They said: 'We are also starting to be more careful about our money; in the end we'll be just like the people here'. [i.e. less hospitable.]

It would seem that the breaking down of prejudices or, if one prefers, the mildness in judging others, is promoted when the judges

are forced to live in the same material circumstances as those who are judged.

Having discussed the refugee's opinion of the autochthon in general, we shall now examine which differences exist for him between there and here with respect to certain groups of persons in particular.

Concerning the behaviour of Dutch children the following remarks were made.

'The children here are much freer in their behaviour and way of talking. They are bolder than our children, who are shy and reticent, especially towards strangers. And that boldness is sooner impudence than courageousness. They speak to you as if they were an equal; they're always ready to answer back; and they don't take punishment without protesting. They are very forward, almost impertinent; they often use coarse language and are rough and wild in their behaviour.'

'Dutch children are, however, much more independent than ours. They've got much more life and spirit in them and have an opinion of their own. They ask everything about everything and are 'knowledgeable' at an early age'. [i.e. where sexual matters are concerned.]

If we classify the behaviour of Dutch children according to the two characteristics noted by the refugees, we see that it is especially the 'Impertinent forwardness' of these children that is most marked; this contrasting with the 'shy reticence' of their own children. The second noted characteristic is the 'independence' and 'individual opinion' of the Dutch children.

Table 7

	I $n_f=38$	II $n_f=35$	III $n_f=30$	IV $n_f=12$
Freer, not shy, greater boldness, more impudent ruder, wild.	74%	83%	87%	100%
More independent; own opinion	8%	37%	33%	33%
Our children copy (all) that	8%	8%	18%	8%

Whereas the excessive boldness of Dutch youth was deplored by the majority of the refugees, their independence was praised and usually because it was a quality which was most useful, if not essential, in fighting one's way in that unrelenting Dutch society.

"I prefer the Dutch way of behaviour for this country; they the children need it they're to live here later".

Some one else remarked:

"I think that independence is excellent for life here; just look and see in what surroundings the children here have to live".

The drop in the standard of living and the great difficulties met with in recovering the original standard in the Netherlands, contributed - as did the pleading of extenuating circumstances for Dutch hospitality - towards the planing down of rough edges in the negative attitude, which existed with respect to the social aspects of the new milieu. The criticism of the behaviour of Dutch youth was definitely neither purely favourable, nor purely unfavourable. Boldness and independence were advantageous in many respects for without these the chance of a reasonable existence in the Netherlands was considered small. The disadvantages, however, had become equally

felt, for not infrequently was one insulted by the Dutch youth calling out "black nigger" or "chin-chin-chinaman" or something similar. Moreover the refugee children soon copied these qualities, thus creating special problems for their parents in their upbringing.

"My children have become so pert here. My second child talks nineteen to the dozen. They've picked up such a lot here. They've become so free and also ruder and more disobedient".

"Whilst they're small that independence is all well and good; but during puberty it makes things difficult".

That the immigrants' attitudes to the behaviour of Dutch children were neither purely positive or negative appeared not only from the way they spoke about those children, but also became evident from the difficulties some had in indicating their opinions on the interval scale - especially in the ~~later~~ phase of the investigation - and from the conditions they made if and when they could be persuaded to express themselves.

"If I think especially of independence, then like this".

[adjusting pointers to] +1 for there and + 3 for here.

"As far as behaviour towards others is concerned, it's like this".

[adjusting pointers to] +3 for there and -2 for here.

"It's ever so difficult, isn't it? Out there they live in such different circumstances. Here more independently. That's a good thing though! But because of that independence they also give a lot of mouth to their parents. Difficult, you know, to show that on the little scale. There are so many different factors. You can't group them all together under the same heading"

Diagram 20 shows the evaluations in the first three phases of the behaviour of the children out there and of their behaviour here.

(Diagram 20)

It is conspicuous in this diagram how the evaluation of Dutch children's behaviour falls. We cannot ignore the possibility that this phenomenon is due to the fact that the refugee's own children rapidly seemed to adopt the behaviour of Dutch children, thus making their parents more inclined to look on the gloomy side of this 'new style' in the bringing up of their children. We should consider moreover the general emergency situation in which the parents were placed, and which disrupted their composedness and increased their irritability, especially during their stay in a contracted boarding house, where one was excessively anxious not to disturb other families or to quarrel with them.

We shall return later to the question of the quicker adaptation of the children, as compared with the parents, to the new way of life.

How immigrants looked upon the relation between parents and their children, and in what way these differed from what they were accustomed to in Indonesia, is shown by the following composite picture of remarks gathered together during the interviews.

'They are so unconcerned about their children. That's how you get a daughter having to leave the home when she gets married and the parents themselves, when they've grown old, are put into a home. It's different in Indonesia; there Granny has to come and live in the home of one of her children.

The children are less two after; allowed to go their own way; left more alone to fight their own battles; are sent into the street lest they disturb the house. In this way they do become independent earlier.

On the one hand this is a good thing, because life is hard here. On the other hand, there are many disadvantages; just listen to the language they use when speaking to their parents! And how often don't you read in the papers that children have been drowned or run over!

'Perhaps this unconcern on the part of the parents, and the way they leave the children to their own devices is due to the fact that the wife has to do all the housekeeping herself; she just hasn't the time to keep herself constantly occupied with her children.

Over here they gather round the fire more in a family circle, they play indoor games together, go out together for walks or cycle rides'

'The parents here teach their children to keep their eyes open and explain anything the child wants to know. But if they want something they don't get their own way as easily as our children. The relationship between parents and children is more friendly here, more chummy. We assert our authority more and punish more severely. We flare up at children; we're quick-tempered. Parents here talk more with their children. Perhaps that's better; in this way children remain more open towards you, while if you treat them harshly, they become frightened of you'.

'The method of punishing is different here than in Indonesia. The punish more mildly and give fewer corporal punishments. For example, standing in the corner, writing lines, not playing outside, no pocket money, a week without going to the pictures, going to bed without a meal. We would never do that, sending a child to bed without his meal; that's cruel. We'd rather give a good smacking, so that at least they'd be afraid of doing it again. We're more heavy handed; here they'll talk to a child. Many parents out there had a special cane'.

An attempt to put into order the variety of expressions under a few headings and to determine their proportional weight resulted in tabel 8.

Table 8

	I n _f =39	II n _f =29	III n _f =27
1. Towards the children unconcerned; left to fight their own battles, run after them less, leave them to their own devices.	62%	66%	85%
2. Gather more round the fire-side; do more together with children.	18%	0%	0%
3. More friendly, more chummy in association with children; do not assert authority so much; punish differently	13%	28%	11%
a. 'Extenuating circumstances'	0%	0%	15%
b. 'Hetero-social identity experience'	0%	0%	15%

For the immigrant, forwardness and independence were conspicuous attributes in the behaviour of Dutch children, while in the case of the parents they noticed especially that they left their children to their own devices and to fight their own battles, thus fostering their independence. This 'method of upbringing' was so incompatible with the immigrant's own experience as a child and with his own and others' behaviour as a parent in Indonesia, that it long remained in full relief in the refugee's field of perception. In Indonesia there was usually a woman to look after the child, protect it from the danger of traffic and of its own mischief. Many had their own compound, which gave children enough space to use up surplus energy while allowing the nanny to keep an eye on them and tighten the reins immediately should she find it necessary.

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2. Gather more round the fire- side; do more together with children.	18%	0%	0%
3. More friendly, more chummy in association with chil- dren; do not assert author- ity so much; punish differ- ently	13%	28%	11%
a. 'Extenuating circumstances'	0%	0%	15%
b. 'Hetero-social identity ex- perience'	0%	0%	15%

For the immigrant, forwardness and independence were conspicuous attributes in the behaviour of Dutch children, while in the case of the parents they noticed especially that they left their children to their own devices and to fight their own battles, thus fostering their independence. This 'method of upbringing' was so incompatible with the immigrant's own experience as a child and with his own and others' behaviour as a parent in Indonesia, that it long remained in full relief in the refugee's field of perception. In Indonesia there was usually a woman to look after the child, protect it from the danger of traffic and of its own mischief. Many had their own compound, which gave children enough space to use up surplus energy while allowing the nanny to keep an eye on them and tighten the reins immediately should she find it necessary.

A second reason why the Dutch method of upbringing made such an impression, has been named in the discussion about the behaviour of Dutch children. In fact, it was not infrequently brought home to the immigrant how hurtful children's outspokenness, the outcome of 'free' upbringing could be.

A third reason why this upbringing remained in full relief is the immigrant's field of perception is the fact that he regarded it as the way 'par excellence' to equip his children with greater independence. He regarded this independence as essential for his children, who would have to live and assert themselves in the unrelenting Dutch society, as he himself had found by experience.

It is interesting to note how in Phase III, about two years after the date of arrival, 15% of the refugee families pleaded extenuating circumstances for the methods of upbringing used by Dutch parents, and were led to a so called hetero-social identity experience. Both appeared to arise from experiencing for themselves the situation in which Dutch parents - especially the mother - were placed.

Some examples may illustrate this:

"They [= Dutch parents] allow their children much more freedom. We've come to do that much more ourselves. They go to school and to the shops on their own. That's because you haven't got any time to go with them here. In Indonesia the wife always had time enough, because of the servant."

"They leave the children to fight their own battles here. They've got to play in the street; but really there's no other place for them; there are no gardens, no play-rooms. Out there, if children played in the streets they were regarded as street-Arabs. But by now we think nothing of it if our children play in the street."

The children themselves want to and besides the fresh air is good for them. They've got to become independent."

"Here they [=the children] are left more to their own devices; they have to stick up for themselves. Mothers are far too busy here and are afraid their houses will get dirtied. My wife is beginning to be like that herself and says: 'Come on, out you go, you're making the place dirty!'"

She [= my wife] is adopting everything they do here. But it's impossible not to."

"Over there they leave everything to the servants. That's not a good thing, though. I believe that you can't begin early enough making your children independent. I think this because we [=parents] have learnt too little of it and have therefore retained that feeling of inferiority. That's why I let my children do all sorts of things themselves."

These remarks demonstrate not only that the refugee begins to excuse the autochthon's conduct as soon as he is placed in the same material circumstances, but also that he has adopted a mode of behaviour from the autochthon, a phenomenon referred to previously as hetero-social identity experience.

Diagram 21 shows the evaluations of the relations between parents and children in the successive phases.

(Diagram 21)

On the whole a favourable opinion is given about the way one is treated in Dutch shops. In Phase I, 72% of the 40 families expressed themselves in words to his effect:

'You're served here in a more friendly, polite and obliging way than out there. Here they come and ask you if they can help you, and they'll show all sorts of things. Over here it's the customer that's right!'

In order to have time for more important

questions, the interviewed refugees were not asked to express in words how they were treated in shops in the latter phases of the investigation. It sufficed that the families gave their opinions on the subject on the interval scale. These results, obtained in each of the first three phases resp., are shown in diagram 22.

(Diagram 22)

Presumably: there were two factors which mainly account for the appreciation by the immigrants of the way in which they were treated in the shops. Firstly there was the Dutch practice of giving service, where possible, to the customer, in order to promote buying. The salesmanship of the 'toko' (store)-keeper in Indonesia - often a Chinese - contrasted sharply. If he did not know his customer, or if he discovered in him little inclination to buy, he would adopt the attitude of: 'I don't like your hesitant, criticising, choosy manner; you're not likely to have much money either; it leaves me cold whether you buy or whether you don't.'

Secondly, the fact that they were served in the Netherlands by Dutch shop assistants in the same way as Dutch purchasers probably played a not inconsiderable role, where these refugees with their inferiority feeling toward the Dutch were concerned, in that high evaluation.

Of the five 'characteristics' of the doctor's behaviour in Holland, the first and second are characterised unfavourably, the third, fourth and fifth favourably.

Table 9

	I n _f =34	II n _f =30	III n _f =21
hardly ever examines patient thoroughly	21%	13%	0%
Sparing in his use of radical medicines	18%	17%	24%
Pleasant in his dealings with people	33%	27%	38%
Everyone is treated alike	18%	13%	24%
He calls at your home; enquires often after the patient	18%	13%	19%

'Unlike the doctor in Indonesia, the doctor in the Netherlands calls at your home if someone is ill and he often comes to enquire how the patient is getting on. But he hardly ever examines the patient thoroughly and is sparing in his use of radical medicines. Out there doctors are moneygrubbers, whereas here everyone is treated alike, rich or poor. The doctor is pleasant in his dealings with people.'

The comparison between the spiritual adviser there and the spiritual adviser here proved to be not very practicable. Not only was the refugee group very heterogenous with respect to religious and denominational convictions held, or not held, by the families - Protestant, Catholic, Jehovah Witness, Mohammedan, unbeliever, superstitious -but there were also differences within the families, husband and wife not infrequently differing in their religious views. Moreover, where there was contact with the Dutch spiritual adviser, whether Protestant or Catholic, it was often the case that the spiritual adviser himself had lived and worked for years in Indonesia.

Concern about personal appearance in relation to the autochthon, which was sometimes explicitly mentioned by some of our refugees, could be described as the more or less conscious preoccupation with the question, "what does the other -the autochthon- think of my appearance and behaviour?"

Using a variant of a phenomenological term, we might, for the sake of brevity, speak of social positional consciousness. Presumably this modality of our interpersonal consciousness is a common human characteristic. It appears as soon as one comes into contact for the first time with people who practise a way of life that is different from one's own. Immigrants too would find themselves in this position for a longer or shorter time, whatever their homeland and whatever the milieu reached. After all, with regard to the people of the receiving country they find themselves in a position analogous to that of the individual, who, be it virtually or be it in fact, comes into contact with people whose views and ways are not sufficiently familiar to him.

In the refugees of this investigation we met sometimes very clearly, a heightened concern about personal appearance in relation to the autochthon. That they were attended in this by the fear of appearing ridiculous, should very likely be considered as characteristic for this specific group of refugees, who, on account of the past history of their society, were oppressed by a feeling of inferiority towards the Dutch, as we have established already. Presumably this fear has contributed to the fact that acute social positional consciousness played such a prominent part in the

remarks of some of the immigrants.

A few examples may clarify the above argument.

They are literal remarks made by our immigrants.

"Here you have to know exactly how you're supposed to behave. You're afraid of doing things and walking around in a way that makes people criticize and stare at you. And how they stare!"

"You don't really dare [to make contact with people here]; you don't know what they're like yet; you've got to get used to them; you don't know how they'll react if you call on them."

"Out there you can do what you like; here you always have to consider what they will think of this, what of that. You don't feel free here yet."

"You feel you're still regarded as someone that doesn't belong here. I think it will always be that way."

"I'll never be a Dutchman to them nor shall I ever be able to call myself Dutch."

"Our ways, our views and our thinking are different, you know. When I behave politely in the way I think is expected of me, I notice that the Dutchman thinks I'm overdoing it and that he doesn't trust me."

This last sample illustrates not only the increased concern about one's own behaviour. It is of special interest, because it suggests that the social positional consciousness is aroused by the functional conflict between the behaviour of the refugee and those of the autochthon, revealed whenever they come into contact with each other.

Thus far we have discussed the differences between the refugee and the autochthon, with respect to behaviour and outward appearance. In that description we discovered four phenomena, which are of importance in the interpretation of the adaptive process, if we intend to interpret the empirical data from a social-

psychological point of view; which is indeed the viewpoint of this investigation.

These four phenomena were described by the following: 'nuanced mode of expression'; 'extenuating circumstances'; 'hetero-social identity experience'; and 'social positional consciousness'.

2.3.2.3 Contact with people of the receiving country

We saw in 2.3.2.1. in our discussion of 'contact with members of the family, friends and acquaintances still in Indonesia', that the percentage of refugee families, who did not feel at home in the Netherlands, and gave their reason for this as insufficient contact with people of the receiving country increased as the time went on. We also found this increase in the conversation topic concerning what it was they felt most deprived of in their new way of life.

Both these observations led us to pose the question to the refugees at the end of the interview in Phase III as well as Phase IV, whether they had 'personal contact' with one or more Dutch families.*

Of the 34 families in Phase III, 77% had no 'personal contact' with one or more Dutch families. Of the 25 families in Phase IV, 44% had no 'personal contact'. One should be aware of the fact that these data were obtained in two years and three years respectively after the date of arrival in the Netherlands.

* The meaning of 'personal contact' was made clearer in this way: "Do the two of you ever go together for an informal visit and chat to a Dutch family; and do they ever come here to visit you - that husband and wife?"

(Diagram 23)

That the need for contact with autochthonous families existing may appear from some remarks quoted literally below.

"We're so isolated here. It would be a good thing to have more contact with Dutch families. We should then get to know the way they do things and the way they think, and learn how we can fit in better here in the Netherlands. I suppose, though, it'll be easier once we have a place of our own." (II)

"It's a great pity that we still have no contact with Dutch families, because, as it is, you still feel a stranger in this country." (III)

"I don't belong and that's wretched!" (II)

"We should really like to be on the same friendly terms with a couple of Dutch families as we were out there with Indonesian Dutch people. Perhaps that will come about once we have a place of our own." (III)

"I really need what you might call natural contact with Dutch people." (III)

"I [=the wife] should so like to have contact with one or other Dutch family. That doesn't bother me [=the husband] in the least." (III)

"It's only once you've been accepted by people here that you begin to feel at home." (III)

"Real, trusted friends, that's what we miss. Preferably a Dutch family; with Indonesian families you only harp back to Indonesia all the time." (III).

"What I miss most of all, that's real contact, that fellowship! [very animated and moved]. Our homesickness gets no compensation here because we're not accepted by people here. It's partly due to us because we're reserved by nature." (II)

"If we only had friendly contacts with Dutch people here - so that we could spend an evening together, for instance, then we'd begin to feel more at home; and that would help us to adapt ourselves more quickly." (II)

"I'm always pleased when I see the friendly relations between Dutch people. I too hope to share these in time. I should very much like to have contact with a couple of Dutch families.

Perhaps more even than with Indonesian Dutch ." (III)*

Even the remarks made by those who became already integrated socially in their milieu, showed how important the satisfaction of the need for integration was to these refugees, and how much feeling at home in the new fatherland depended upon it.

"I would rather stay here [than emigrate with husband]. I have a place of my own and many Dutch friends!" (III)

"Oh, yes, I feel at home here now! Especially in the village X. Everywhere you go it's, 'Hallo!' and 'How are you?' I [=husband] get around everywhere - that's because of the spare-time jobs I do, repairing things for all sorts of people." (III)

In spite of the need for contact with others, they appeared to be held back in their efforts to satisfy this need by ambivalent feelings. They 'would' but they dared not. The following examples show this ambivalence clearly.

"There are various Dutch families who call on us, but we never seem able to go to them. We always find ourselves having to overcome some kind of resistance and we're always having to invent excuses for not going. Where we do go is to Indonesian families. You always feel more at your ease there than with the Dutch, although they're very sweet to you [wife.]" (III)

"Real, trusted friends, that's what we miss. I don't think you're likely to find it here; a Dutch family that would be on the same friendly terms [as the trusted friends out there]. They think we're inferior and are ashamed of us in front of others." (III)

/* One might suppose from these remarks, that they were determined by the question, as far as form and matter are concerned. However the fact is that the remarks numbered II were not modelled after that question as it was not posed in Phase II.

"Going around with Dutch people, yes, I [husband] do miss that a lot. I have the feeling they keep us at a distance."
 [His neighbours, both right and left of his private dwelling are Dutch families.] (III)

The feeling of inferiority to the Dutchman, shared by almost all the refugees, is a serious handicap to the growth of personal contact with autochthonous Dutch people. Every noticeable difference between himself and the autochthon, be it in appearance or in manner, seems to evoke this idea irrevocably in many refugees. True, it is possible to approach the Dutchman very closely in matters of dress and perceptible codes of behaviour, but the difference in skin pigmentation remained as an indelible mark, to which the idea of inferiority was anchored.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that these refugees, probably more than other refugee groups, had the tendency to club together in spite of the fact that they had the priceless advantage over many others who had had to seek for safety in another land, of speaking the same language.

"I am often homesick; especially on quiet days. You don't know anybody here; you're so alone. We do have contact with Indonesian families. We clun together." (III)

"We miss the contact with other Indonesian Dutch families in our district; there are so few of them..." (III)

But also in cases where personal contact did grow up, the idea of inferiority continued to have a braking effect on the enjoyment of contact with the Dutchman.

"The contact you had with Indonesian Dutch people you'll never get with Dutch people, however much you're friends. There's a certain reserve which remains. More out of fear, really, that they might think you queer or that you look ridiculous" (IV)

"We have personal contact with five Dutch families. But you still don't feel you belong all the same." (IV)

"We got to know a Dutch family in a houseboat alongside the canal. They invited us first. We're a bit afraid to." (IV)

Of the families in Phase IV, who had 'personal contact' with one or more Dutch families, 38% expressed themselves spontaneously after this fashion.

The ways towards contact with others were various, as will appear from the following summary based on information given by the refugees:

- (1) Through occupation of a house or flat, more or less surrounded by Dutch neighbours.
 "I [the wife] talk to my neighbours about prices [of household articles] and so on; where you can get wall paper; how to look after the garden."
- (2) Through employment in a firm, which inevitably brings one into contact with colleagues.
 "I have contact with several people here. This has come about through my work and also through the basketball club of which I'm a member. Every now and then I go to the home of one of my colleagues. I think they're nice people."
- (3) Through the children, who by playing with other children in the neighbourhood, bring their parents closer together.
 "They're dears, Dutch people, as far as I know them [wife]. We got to know them through the children who made little friends. That's how we got to know the parents."
- (4) Through the necessity of going to certain places in order to keep the household going.
 "I would rather stay here in the Netherlands [wife] I have a place of my own and many Dutch friends! We got to know each other chatting at the grocer's, and through taking

and fetching our little one to and from the infants school."

- (5) Through an organization which brings together people of the same religious or political convictions or interests.

"We do have that [personal] contact with six or seven Dutch families. We all share the same religion [Jehovah Witnesses]. The organization saw to it that we met each other."

There are several further ways towards contact which might come to mind. Those named above were indicated by the refugees themselves. They demonstrate first of all that the necessity of maintaining family life in all its variety, compels the parents to make contact with the autochthons.

Moreover, it appears that young children, not yet beset by the prejudices of their parents, made friends with playmates of their own age, irrespective of background, colour, position or social standing, and thus induced their respective parents to take notice of each other. There are, indeed, no topics of conversation which break the ice more easily between adults than the doings of their children.

The refugees held a favourable to very favourable opinion about contact with colleagues during work and about relations in the firm where they were employed, as the numerical results below illustrate. That this fact acted as an important counter weight to the limited attractiveness which the job had in the beginning for many of them seems probable. However, it was not possible to establish accurately its relative importance. The diagram below reproduces the evaluations concerning co-operation with colleagues for

'there' and 'here' respectively in Phases II, III and IV.

(Diagram 24)

In order to find out whether a difference existed in the ease of adaptation by parents and by children, the following question was put:

"Do your children copy the manners of Dutch children or not? Which?"

All the families concerned in Phases II, III and IV — 21, 22 and 24 families respectively — gave a clearly affirmative answer. Copying, referred to above, was clearly to be seen in the following: way of talking; speaking dialect; swearing; increased rudeness and forwardness; decreased shyness; greater social ease and independence; readiness to answer back.

To illustrate the way in which the parents expressed themselves about the copying of Dutch manners by their children, we shall reproduce literally some of their remarks.

"Our children copy everything here; not only the way of talking, but also the way of behaving and appearing; not only that of Dutch children, but also of the adults. There are some good sides to this, but also annoying ones. I'm only too pleased when my little boy copies a real Dutch boy — you know, daring and sticking up for himself, not being shy any more. They need to be like this here in Holland, also later in life. Our children are already completely Dutchified. If they get a scolding they start arguing with a "Why?" and "Why not?"

"Especially do they copy expressions and slang words like 'so long', 'bonanza', 'gas bag', and 'damn'. They're also getting freer and ruder."

"It's amazing how soon they copy anything. Out there they were much more submissive; here they don't take anything you tell them to do lying down. Our authority has decreased from

what it used to be. This is difficult for my wife. I think independence is a good thing. They would only find it harder later on if they became yes men and women".

"My daughters have adopted the outspokenness of the girls here. She had better not try it out on me at home though! In my opinion it's a turn for the worse; something deplorable! The children realize this themselves but say that they have to be like this, otherwise they don't belong."

"Oh, they copy everything — swearing, expressions, songs. They've become more daring, they're not as timid as they were out there. I'am not so happy about their impertinence. It's sometimes rather difficult for us, you see."

"He [= my son] has said to me once already: 'Why are the children here left so free to do what they like and why can't I do anything?' We often feel let down about this. It's becoming so difficult for parents. As long as they're here [with me at home] they've got to do what I say."

"They're completely changed — what they do, what they don't do and the way they talk. They are becoming much more independent. At first this caused me a lot of trouble; it was awful in the beginning! They are often difficult to restrain and subdue."

"For us as parents this copying is an awful nuisance, we were brought up differently. Perhaps in ten years' time the differences will be ironed out. The children are undisciplined and rude. There are of course, good sides to it. They've got to be independent because, after all, they've got to live here."

We have quoted a number of remarks fully and literally because they show that the more rapid adoption by children of codes of social intercourse, norms and habits found in the autochthonous social milieu, threatened the harmony of the family and created special difficulties for the parents in the upbringing of their children. Those difficulties in upbringing were of a special kind for the following reasons.

Certain characteristics — such as the Dutch outspokenness and independence — which the parents believed they did not possess but which they considered necessary for holding one's own in the Netherlands, were rapidly adopted by their own children. Those characteristics were appreciated in the children, but only as characteristics useful in life outside the home. At home, on the other hand, they not infrequently acted as a threat to the authority of the parents; a threat which was enlarged in the eyes of the parents against the background of their historically conditioned feeling of inferiority towards 'the Dutchman'. That the upbringing of children had become more difficult and what the reasons for this were appeared from answers made to a question on the subject:

"Bringing up children is much harder here. They don't listen any more. They're always ready to answer back. Sometimes you just don't know any more what to do. The children have become aggravating and disobedient. They are far less submissive. They say to us, "If you hit us we'll go to the probation officer." We're sometimes really worried about it and wonder if it's right that they should go around with the children here so much."

"Definitely more difficult here. Independence is a good thing; they can have their own opinions, but I won't stand that rudeness."

"Keeping one's authority has become especially difficult."

"Definitely much more difficult. When they make you angry you could curse this greater outspokenness of your children. But in my heart of hearts I'm glad. Sometimes their answers leave you flabbergasted. I forbade my little son sometime ago to blow his whistle; to which he replied: "Why did you buy it for me then?" They would never have dared talk like that in Indonesia."

"Upbringing here is much more difficult. Because they've got their own opinion here we tend to say they are rude. But that's not really true

The way they behave here is better because they remain so honest; less sneaky."

The degree to which the evaluation of the parents about the aforesaid outspokenness and independence of their children was ambivalent appeared from the fact that many parents did not feel themselves capable of indicating on the interval scale how favourably or unfavourably they regarded the manners of the Dutch children.

Those who were persuaded after all to indicate their opinion by means of the interval scale provided the following data. These data came from the patres familias only.

Table 10

Family number	Evaluation in		0 means IV = II + means IV > II - means IV < II
	II	IV	
2	9	9	0
5	4	7	+
6	4	6	+
12	10	8	-
15	8	7	-
24	4	4	0
28	9	10	+
33	9	10	+
34	11	6	-
40	10	9	-
average	7.8	7.6	

When comparing the evaluations in II with those in IV it appears that positive differences occur as frequently as negative differences. A systematic increase in the evaluation of adopted codes of behaviour appears therefore not to have taken place in the two years separating Phase II from Phase IV.

That the feeling of inferiority on the part of the parents played a rôle in experiencing the difference between their own inability and the ease which their children had in becoming adapted to the ways of the new social milieu, seems likely on the basis of such remarks as these:

"The Indonesian children who have been here some time now have the ways of Dutch children and do not feel they are out of the picture. They won't have what we have: that inferiority complex."

"Because later they will have grown up entirely in the Netherlands, the children will feel completely at home, unlike us."

"The children arrived here very young. They can go to school with other children here and in this way they'll get on better with people here."

Against this background of their own adaptation difficulties, as well as their idea of inferiority, the children's future in the Netherlands is seen as being all the more rosy.

2.3.3 The vegetal hedonistic facets of the environment

2.3.3.1 Food

'The food here — cooked in the boarding house is tasteless, unappetizing and greasy. There's very little variation. It's always the same — meat, vegetables, potatoes; meat, potatoes, vegetables. Outthere the food had more kick to it and was much more varied. There are few sorts of vegetables and fruit here and only pepper and salt to flavour the food. We flavour the food we get with sambal [hot peppers] to give it some taste. If we get the chance, we prepare our own dishes. Many people throw away the food we get in the boarding house. We Indonesian Dutch idolise our stomachs, you know'.

Once our refugees had occupied a private dwelling, most of them returned to using the staple food of their homeland, namely rice. In the first interview in their own homes, of the 23 families that were questioned on the subject, it appeared that rice was used

as the staple food by

50% each day

30% 3 to 6 days in the week

17% 2 to 3 days in the week.

The children proved to be less enslaved to rice prepared with oriental spices. In five of the families mentioned above, a spontaneous remark was made to the effect that the children preferred potatoes to rice.

The extent to which Dutch food was reviled and Indonesian lauded, can be read from the median scale values received by each.

(Diagram 25)

Good food played a prominent part in life in Indonesia. Besides regular meals, all sorts of tasty snacks hawked by street vendors, were consumed.

"The average Dutch person is thrifty. They think clothing and saving for holidays are worth a lot of trouble, but not food. In Indonesia it was just the opposite. Food was one of the most important things. We're real gourmets."

"Over here clothing, a house and a holiday are top of the list. They don't make that extra effort in preparing dishes."

"Saving and saving, We'll never get round to saving, even if we have to. They don't eat meat on certain days and they buy soup in packets. In a Dutch house, everything's got to shine and twinkle, especially the outside. We'd rather eat well!"

The question about what it was they missed most in the Netherlands was answered with 'Indonesian food' by the following percentages of families in the successive phases,

(Diagram 26)

2.3.3.2 Climate

The question as to the difference in climate out there compared with here led to reactions which we have grouped together, as follows:

'The cold goes through and through you here. The wind is wet and penetrating. The wind is drizzly and dull. They talk about summer but it's wet and raw here. Out there it's a land of eternal sunshine; here it's a land of eternal cold. We live for the weather forecasts'.

The ratings of the climate out there and here, given by the refugees in the successive phases of the investigation, show clearly a great difference within this facet of the environment between formerly and now.

(Diagram 27)

2.3.4 The Panoramic aspects of the environment

A few months after arrival in the Netherlands three facets of the new environment appeared to stand out in the refugee's field of perception. In other words, the refugee on being asked in Phase I:

"What has struck you especially in the Netherlands?", frequently brought up in conversation three themes, viz., 1, 2 and 5."

2.3.4.1 The people and their behaviour (theme 1)

a. The appearance of the autochthon

'People here are always well dressed; i.e. they wear a jacket, a tie and socks, as we do when we go to a wedding. They all sit round in suits and coats, even when it's not cold. But then you can't see anything of those beautiful clothes they wear underneath! The girls in shops, butchers and bakers wear a sort of uniform; and very nice it looks too, much nicer than a mixture of this and that. Even the lower classes are dressed neatly here. Out there there is a great difference between rich and poor; here you can't tell a servant from a lady.'

b. The behaviour of the autochthon

'The Dutchman here is different from the Dutchman in Indonesia; here they're friendly and helpful. But the hospitality out there — between Indonesian Dutch — they can't beat it here! Out there there's more family unity; here it's everyone for himself.

Also there's less generosity. You never get a full cup of tea and they'll light up a cigarette without offering you one. They find it much easier to make contact with others than we do. They address you naturally, and dare to do and say things openly, like "Hello!" with a pat on your back. We're more reserved. They're freer in their actions here, as you can see for instance in the way they make love in public, what we find embarrassing. The children are allowed much more freedom here too. We keep them more by our sides. They're rough and coarse in their speech. They say what they mean; they don't bottle up anything. They're coarse, the Dutch; but don't bear any malice. The Indonesian-Dutch fosters his hate for years — that's the Eastern mentality.'

Theme 1, 'people and their behaviour' might be seen rather as a social communicative than as a panoramic facet of the new environment of our refugees. While the remarks headed (b) would support the first view, the second view would find support in the remarks headed (a). It would now appear that, as communication between refugee and autochthon gives rise to tensions in the refugee, and as his integration into a pattern of social contacts is impeded, so theme 1 will include more reactions of type b. Taking into consideration the refugee's undeniable difficulties in making contact, as well as the independent course taken by the theme 1 proportions, it seems desirable to place theme 1 in the category: social communicative facets of the new environment. Nevertheless; we are here discussing theme 1 as a panoramic facet. The reason for this is that, based on the data of this investigation of a specific group of refugees, we are attempting — perhaps presumptuously — to present general viewpoints which will serve

as principles for ordering collected material to the end that they may be of value in future investigations of the same stamp as our own, but concerned with other groups of strangers.

2.3.4.2 Appearance of environments: buildings, furnishing and arrangement of houses, gardens, streets, shops and buildings (the Scenery) (theme 2)

Of the 'objects' in the new environment, the houses and housing, the shops and the scenery play a prominent part in the refugee's field of perception during the first months in his new fatherland. In Phase I 90% of the families spoke about the houses, housing and the shops while 42% expressed their opinions spontaneously about the scenery:

- a. 'All the houses are built of brick, it's so bare and dreary. It's as if they are only half-finished. In Indonesia they are plastered and whitewashed. Everything is built upwards, in storeys; here it's always upstairs and downstairs. Housing is so cramped, just like a doll's house, and there's very little, if any garden. People live on top of each other. It's true, everything's just round the corner; the chemist's, the doctor and the shops. The roofs are different here, and all those chimneys! — you don't get them there. Many houses here have big glass windows but what they don't have is a verandah. The inside walls are wall papered and the floors are laid with linoleum. In Indonesia they have white walls and stone floors. We used carpets as wall decoration, but here they put them on the floor'.
- b. 'The crowded shops, that's what struck us. They are so well stocked and kept so tidy. The shops are more specialized here. There you could get everything in a toko or general store. The shop door here is closed and yet the shop is open. You don't like to go in. There the shop doors are open all day. If they are shut and you make your way in, it would mean you wanted to steal. Prices here seem low, but in fact they are high. That's because we're used to thinking in terms of rupias'.

- c. The word 'scenery' was often mentioned in one breath with the word 'climate', in reply to the question concerning what had stuck him most about the Netherlands. Further explanation on the part of the refugee, however, showed that he did distinguish between scenery and climate. Consequently we were led to take 'scenery' as a panoramic facet and 'climate' as a vegetal-hedonistic facet of the new surroundings. Of course a distinction of this kind remains to a considerable degree a matter of personal preference in arrangement, as is the case also with many other similar decisions in this report.

'In comparison with here, the scenery there is like a paradise; much grender and more colourful. Trees and plants and fruits and vegetables grow everywhere. There are always flowers and it's always green there. Here it rains all the year through; those puddles, ditches and rivers; those bare trees and greyneess. In Indonesia there wasn't any sense talking about the weather; I understand now why they do it here. It's so flat and bare here. What we would call a little park they call a wood. The scenery here is so stiff and straight; it's just as if it's made by man instead of nature. Here nature follows the four seasons; it gets lighter earlier and earlier each morning and darker and darker earlier and earlier each night. The everything becomes green and blooms and bears fruit'.

About eight months after 90% of the families thus had voiced the above mentioned 'objects' of their environment, only 13% still did so. (see diagram 6) No other theme showed such a sharp fall in proportion.

2.3.4.3 Regulation of the community (theme 5)

'Here in the Netherlands you notice the neatness of everything. Everything is so beautifully clean and cared for; the gardens, and the meadows full of cows and also the shops.

It's clean and tidy wherever you go. You wonder what they do with all the dirt. You don't see any beggars in the streets; in Indonesia it's simply swarming with them'. Here everything is regulated and organized. You need a licence for everything. Where you find a pretty spot there's a notice saying 'trespassers will be prosecuted'. All the shops shut at 6 o'clock. There are different fixed days when the hairdressers, the butchers, or the greengrocers are closed. There's a special wash day and day for ironing. We don't have those obligatory days in Indonesia. Here they think it's queer if you do the washing every day, if you don't do spring cleaning or if you work in the garden on Sundays. Religious life is much stricter here. You can work on Sundays so long as you do it behind drawn curtains'.

3. INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The principal question of our investigation was: what characteristics does the process of adaptation reveal when, during successive phases, the refugees' experiences and evaluations are registered within the period of their adaptation to a new country?

The answer to this question required that changes which were observed and noted could be interpreted as indicators for the modality of the process of adaptation to the new environment. We are now to see which these indicators are, whether and to what extent they possess a general validity — i.e. as indicators for the adaptation of whatever refugee group to any given new environment — is a question we shall discuss later.

3.1 INDICATORS FOR THE MODALITY OF THE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION

In accordance with the nature of our investigation, the indicators for the course and for the modality of the process of adaptation depend on information supplied by the refugee about his experiences and his evaluations in relation to his new environment.

Of course there are also indicators which rest on what the refugee did during the first years of his stay in his new fatherland. Although these so-called action-indicators fall outside the framework of this investigation, we shall discuss them descriptively all the same at the end of this section.

3.1.1 "Over all" indicators.

3.1.1.1 Changes in proportion height of the spontaneous themes.

According to diagram 6 a great deal indeed did occur in the eight months separating Phases I and II of our investigation. For example, theme 2 dropped from 90% to 13%; theme 5 from 60% to 15%. Theme 10 — the only theme showing a rise in this period — rose from 30% to 53%. Beginning at the second phase, a noticeable stability set in.

How much occurred in that period between the first two phases and how little afterwards is expressed in the rank correlation of the themes in two successive phases.

Table 11

$r_{I,II}$	$r_{II,III}$	$r_{III,IV}$	$r_{II,IV}$
-.07	.78	.72	.61
n.s	$p < .05$ (one tailed)	$p < .05$ (one tailed)	$p < .05$ (one tailed)

Bearing in mind the aforesaid stability, one may determine the general rank of the themes on the basis of their rank in II, III and IV and find the results illustrated in the last column of table 12.

Table 12

Theme number	Rank of the themes in II	Rank of the themes in III	Rank of the themes in IV	General rank of themes
1	3	3	6	4
2	9	9	9	9
3	1	2	3	1
5	8	8	7	8
6	5	1	1.5	2
7	4	4	4.5	5
8	6	6	8	7
9	7	7	4.5	6
10	2	5	1.5	3

The general weight of the themes as well as the categories in which they have already been placed is thus as follows:

Table 13

Name of theme	Number of theme	Category
'freedom'	3	freedom to do and leave undone
making ends meet (the private dwelling)	6 (10)	
the people and their behaviour	1	social- communicative
contact with others	7	
food	9	vegetal- hedonistic
climate	8	
regulation of the community	5	panoramic
the appearance of things	2	

In order to express in one figure the change in the proportion weight of any one theme during the period between two successive phases, an index was created, namely the proportion gradient Pg. The formula for this is:

$$Pg_{I, I-II} = \frac{P_{1,I} - P_{1,II}}{10t}$$

where $Pg_{1,II-II}$ is the proportion gradient of theme 1 in the period separating Phases I and II;

$P_{1,I}$ the proportion of theme 1 in Phase I;
 $P_{1,II}$ the proportion of theme 1 in Phase II;
 the period of time between I and II in months.

Taking the numerator of the quotient as the vertical side of a right angled triangle, and the denominator as the horizontal side, then the Pg is the tangent of the angle made by the horizontal side and the hypotenuse of the triangle.

Thus the Pg can be expressed in degrees of an angle. The following table gives the proportion gradients of the themes in degrees for the three periods that separate the four successive phases of the investigation.*

Table 14

theme number	Proportion gradients:		
	I → II	II → II	II → IV
1	30°	2°	12°
2	44°	4°	1°
3	15°	5°	1°
4	20°	-	-
5	29°	2°	0°
6	5°	(14°)	2°
7	4°	1°	7°
8	9°	2°	6°
9	8°	6°	(4°)
10	(16°)	9°	(10°)
Pg = 18.0°			Pg = 5.0°
			Pg = 4.8°

* The Pg values in normal type indicate a falling proportion gradient; those in brackets a rising proportion gradient.

The values of table 14 are, after multiplication by 5, illustrated in the three encircled figures, (see pag.82 a.)

Table 15

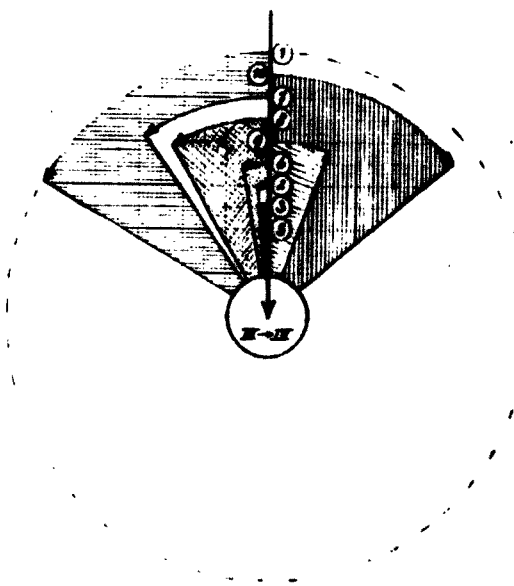
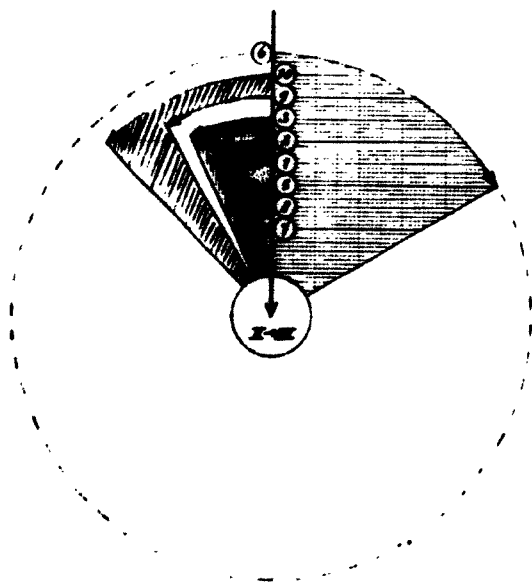
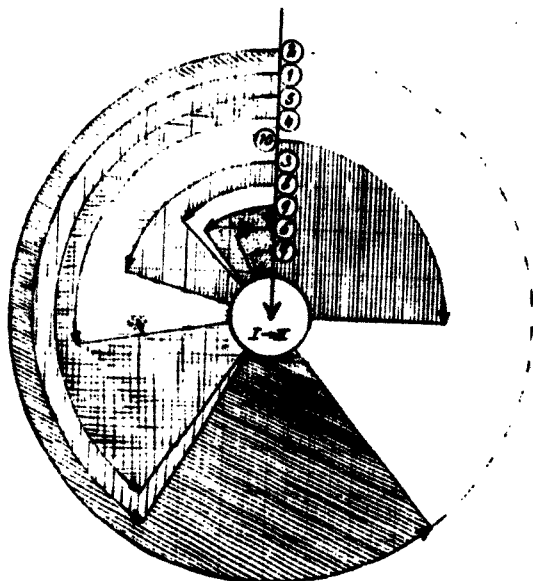
theme number	(a) rank in I	(b) rank in Pg _{I-II}
1	1	2
2	2	1
3	3	5
4	4	4
5	5	3
6	6	8
7	7	9
8	8	6
9	9	7
10	10	10

$$r_{ab} = .84 \quad (p < .01 \text{ one tailed})$$

It was possible to establish a characteristic of the Pg values of the themes; viz: the higher the position of a theme in the proportion hierarchy of themes at the end of the first three months, the sharper the descent of the proportion gradient over the remaining nine months of the first year's stay in the new country. (see table 15).

Interpretation of the data - recorded up to this point - falling within the main purpose of our investigation, rested on the following suppositions: the higher the rank of a certain spontaneous theme at a given time, the more it is brought out in full relief in the experience of the refugee at that time in his new environment.

The following explanation seemed to be most acceptable for the great deal that occurred in the course of the first year's stay of the refugees.



On first acquaintance with the new new fatherland, those facets of the surroundings that were readily perceptible and that differed from the corresponding facets in the land of origin were the ones that were brought out in full relief in the experience of the refugees.

However, these perceived characteristics rapidly lost their prominence in order to make room for other characteristics to which the feeling at ease in the new environment seemed to be closely geared. If we look for the three themes that thus possess the sharpest descending Pg in the period I-II, we find that numbers 2, 1 and 5 do so. They refer to environmental facets which we have previously labelled as panoramic facets. Moreover, two of these three themes — namely 2 and 5 — retain the lowest position in the general rank of the themes (see table 12)*.

Adaptation as a function of these so-called panoramic facets depends apparently on an habituation process which rapidly comes into effect; and presumably it rests on the same mechanism as forms the basis for our habituation to, for instance: the noise in our new work-place; the changed position of pieces of furniture in our home; or the arrangement of the dash board and gears in a car that we have never driven before. By habituation we understand an alternation in the perceived mould of facets of the environment from their being conspicuous to the perceiver to their being inconspicuous or normal.

* The fact that theme 1 did not follow the course run by themes 2 and 5 is allied to that theme's close connection with theme 7; this is also because of the sociogenous inferiority feelings of this refugee group.

Henceforth we shall speak of a stranger being habituated to his environment when he no longer reacts to the three questions posed at the outset in the terms belonging to themes 2 and 5.

Besides themes 2, 1 and 5, theme 10 shows a striking course in the period of only eight months separating Phases I and II. This theme rose from the lowest position in I to the second highest in II. Its fairly steep descent in the second period after that should, most probably, be seen as a function of the meaning which theme 6 — the most steeply rising theme — had for the refugees in that period.

The desire for a private dwelling was presumably subdued at that time by the fear that possession of one would restrict still more what scope they had financially. After all, such a possession brought with it the expense of meeting all housekeeping bills out of their own income; this had not been the case in the boarding house. They were informed about the consequent extra worries by fellow refugees who had taken the step of moving from the boarding house to a private dwelling. The percentage of families who had thus removed rose from 7% in Phase I to 53% in Phase II.

Furthermore our attention is invited towards themes 3 and 6, which, grouped in the category 'freedom to do and leave undone', occupy the two highest positions in the general rank of the themes (see table 13)*. This fact indicates that the new circumstances made the old familiar style of living, as practised in recreation, pleasure and amusement as well as in the handling of money and goods, no longer possible and that this impossibility weighed hard in the day to day life of the refugees.

*(Footnote see page 85)

Three years after his arrival in the new fatherland — i.e. in Phase IV — themes 6 and 3 even occupy the first and second positions in the ranking of the themes and indeed with proportions of 60% and 52% respectively.

It is very probable that the meaning of the oft-used notion 'freedom' was, for the refugees of our investigation, closely related to that of material welfare and freedom of movement, of 'being able to afford something'.

The 'not feeling at ease' in an environment which did not allow the practising of the old, familiar style and state of life, appears to be geared to milieu-conditions other than those of 'not feeling at home', that we have already met.

Whereas the former uneasiness is determined principally by the limited possibilities offered by the milieu to satisfy the need for material welfare and financial scope, the latter uneasiness, that of not feeling at home, seems to be determined sooner by the limited social communicative absorption capacity of the new milieu. Of course both potentialities of the new milieu are constantly determined by both the individual character of the refugee and his 'basic personality' — in the sense used by Kardiner and Linton.

We may conclude that not feeling at home was closely related especially to factors of a social

* Theme 10 is not considered here, as its proportion was — and could be — determined only for those families who had not yet occupied a dwelling. (Footnote belonging to page 84).

communicative nature, from the fact that the refugee most frequently pointed to inadequate contacts with others when they were asked to state their reasons for not feeling at home in the Netherlands.

As in the case of 'feeling at ease' and 'feeling at home', we thought fit also to distinguish between two terms, often used synonymously, viz. assimilation and acculturation. When we speak of someone as being assimilated, we mean that he feels at ease in the way he fills his life from day to day with work, relaxation, pleasure and amusement; or, expressed practically that he does not react to the three questions posed at the outset, in the terms of themes 3, 6 and 10. When, in the future we speak of someone as being acculturized, we mean he feels at home with the people of the country which receives him, no longer experiencing differences between the way in which he and the way in which the autochthon evaluates people, events, conditions, and objects explicitly or implicitly; or, practically, when he does not react to the three questions in the terms of themes 1 and 7.

3.1.1.2 Changes in evaluation level of environmental facets.

In the successive phases of the investigation it was established in how far the refugees evaluated a variety of environmental facets. In this way we aimed at obtaining data in order to answer four questions which seemed to us to be of importance within the compass of this investigation. The questions were these:

- (a) Is there a difference between the evaluation of 'there' and the evaluation of 'here' with respect to the available environmental facets: if so, what is evaluated higher, 'there' or 'here'?
- (b) Has any change taken place with the passage of time in the degree to which those facets, common to the environment 'there' and to the environment 'here', are evaluated; if so, what direction does this change take?
- (c) Are differences in evaluation between individuals greater, per facet, for 'there' than for 'here', or vice versa? What change in this makes its appearance with time?
- (d) Is the evaluation of facets with respect to 'there' more variable than evaluation of facets with respect to 'here', or vice versa?

ref. (a) That the evaluation of 'there' differs systematically from the evaluation of 'here', with respect to several environmental facets, is apparent from table 16.

Table 16

Results with respects to:	Phases		
	I	II	III
p. Climate	++	++	++
q. Food	++	++	++
r. Hospitality	++	++	++
s. Parents-child relations	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
t. The children's ways	n.s.	n.s.	+
u. Treatment in shops	--	--	(-)
v. Contact with employer	x	n.s.	(+)

Significance was examined with the aid of the signed rank test*.

These results lead us to a few observations:

1. It appears that various environmental facets
 - are not evaluated exclusively as 'there' favourable and 'here' unfavourable;
 - can produce significant differences between evaluations of 'there' and of 'here'

Whether or not a certain milieu facet is a factor that plays a role in the adaptation to the new environment is a question which can be answered with the help of the evaluation method. It seemed desirable to let corresponding environmental facets 'here' and 'there' be compared by means of an evaluation scale with equal appearing intervals.

* Legend: n.s. = not significant

x = no data

there higher than here	there lower than here	probability p with two-tailed region of rejection
(+)	(-)	$.05 < p \leq .10$
+	-	$.01 < p \leq .05$
++	--	$p \leq .01$

- Footnote continued on page 89.

2. The relative importance of a milieu facet in the world of the refugee is not determined by the size of the difference between the 'there' and 'here' evaluations. Such a difference may, for instance, be large, while the relative importance of the facet in question is small. An example of this is the facet 'food'. The relative importance of a facet is determined - as we have seen - by the percentage of families spontaneously bringing up that facet as a theme of conversation when asked the questions, about what was most striking, what the worst privation, and what the greatest worry. Seen from the point of view just formulated here, only p, q, r, t, and u, all the measured factors, have played a part in adaptation. (table 16 p.88) There are however, other points of view from which one can regard the available measured data. We shall discuss one of these straightaway.

cont.
(p.88)

* The cases denoted with +, ++, -, -- are, in accordance with the usual terminology, labelled 'significant'; the cases marked with (+) or (-) contain an indication of a marked difference. We should also allow for the fact that the value of these results is limited because two conditions necessary for the validity of the test were not fulfilled, viz., 1. the refugee group did not constitute a random sample from a certain population of Indonesian Dutch; 2. the subtraction and addition of scores can be meaningful only in so far as measured differences reflect actual differences to scale. Bearing in mind the method used for measuring, no certainty about this can be had. However, the results marked with two signs are so plain, that they remain valid in spite of not conforming to condition 2. Thus it is safe to say that the evaluation by the refugee group of the facets, climate, food, and hospitality, in Phases I, II and III was consistently higher for 'there' than for corresponding facets 'here'. The reverse was the case for the treatment in shops at any rate in Phase I and II.

ref.(b) In order to answer the second question, the available data were analysed in a different way.*

Table 17 gives the result of this. A systematically positive value means that the subjects have been inclined to judge more unfavourable the aspect concerned in the first two years' stay; a systematically negative value indicated the opposite.

Table 17

Results with respect to: 'there' 'here' 'there-'here'			
Climate	+	n.s.	n.s.
Food	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Hospitality	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Parents-children relations	n.s.	-	n.s.
The children's ways.	+	-	++
Treatment in shops	+	-	+
Contact with employer	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

In so far as a systematic course has appeared in the results, it would seem that the evaluation with regard to 'there' has become increasingly favourable, with regard to 'here' increasingly unfavourable. This course is in general not so evident in the scores for: 'climate', 'food' and 'hospitality' as in those for 'parents-child', 'children' and 'shops'. In this, allowance should again be made for the fact that, for the first three facets named, high evaluations were given from the very beginning, so that it was difficult on subsequent occasions to give still higher evaluations systematically. The lack of positive correlation may again be the re-

* For each subject the Kendall rank correlation coefficient was calculated between each result in the Phases I, II, III and the numbers 1, 2, 3. Subsequent examination was made to find out whether the sum of these correlation coefficients deviated systematically from 0.

sult of restricted differentiation possibilities in the scores.

ref.(c) In order to answer the third question, the spread in the data concerning 'there' was compared with that of the data concerning 'here'*. This analysis led to the results reproduced in table 18.

Table 18

Scores with respect to:	Phases		
	I	II	III
Climate	-	(-)	-
Food	--	(-)	--
Hospitality	-	-	(-)
Parents-child relations	-	n.s.	n.s.
The children's ways	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Treatment in shops	(+)	n.s.	n.s.
Contact with employer	x	n.s.	n.s.

In so far as the results are significant, they indicate a smaller spread in the scores obtained for 'there'. It should also be borne in mind that the scores could also have been the result of the restricted differentiation possibilities in the case of the high scores.

Because of this, an interpretation of the results of the analysis, in the sense of a greater unanimity of judgments about 'there' and 'here' between the subjects becomes rather contestable.

* The method used was as follows. For the evaluation of, say, the facet 'climate', the first two subjects were taken from the rank order of subjects. The absolute difference was subsequently determined. The same working method was then applied to the second pair, the third, the fourth and so on. Now, if the absolute difference per pair for the 'there' scores are in general higher, say, than for the 'here' scores, then the spread of the 'there' scores will be greater than that of the 'here' scores, whether this was in fact the case was further examined with Wilcoxon symmetry test.

ref(d) The standard deviation was calculated for the evaluation scores obtained by each male individual. Application of the sign test to the differences between these deviations led to the following results.*

Table 19

'there' distribution	\angle in Phases:	'here' distribution
I	II	III
n.s.	++	++

The interpretation of this result is this: the refugee uses fewer nuances in his judgment of facets appertaining to his circumstances of life 'there' than of corresponding facets appertaining to his circumstances 'here'. This was true at least for the first and second year after the date of arrival.

3.1.1.3 Increase in the percentage of families saying they feel at home in the Netherlands

The increase with time of the percentage of families saying they feel at home in the Netherlands — i.e. II, 5%; III, 23%; IV, 50% — can be regarded as a reliable indicator for showing that adaptation is on the move. These percentages, however, give us no answer to the question as to whether the accent lies on habitation, assimilation or acculturation

* In applying the sign test only those subjects, who gave a score for 'there' as well as 'here' for 3 or more facets per phase, were considered.

If we were to ask whether those who said they felt at home evaluated various facets of the new environment higher than those who said they did not feel at home in the Netherlands, we find our question answered in the affirmative, as table 20 shows*. This table shows, moreover, that the refugee who, 2 years after the date of his arrival, said that he felt at home in the Netherlands, already had a more favourable attitude at the beginning of his stay towards the given facets of the milieu than the refugee who, after 2 years' time, did not feel at home.

From both these established facts the following may be concluded. Since those who felt at home evaluated their environment more favourably in general than those who did not feel at home, and had done so right from the start — that is, about three months after arrival — the position which the individual refugee occupies between others sharing his fate on the basis of his average facet evaluation may be used as an indicator for his chances for being adapted. The higher his position, the greater the chance that adaptation will be accomplished. From this conclusion it appears that the method using quantitative evaluation of well chosen environmental facets is not only of value in forming theories of adaptation, but also useful in practice, enabling forecasting of chances for a successful adaptation within a certain period of time.

* For table 20 see page 97

3.1.2 Social Communicative indicators

This type of indicator is concerned with virtual as well as actual human relations between refugees and autochthon. It is assumed that these indicators refer to acculturation aspects of the adaptation process.

3.1.2.1 Changes in evaluation of the refugee by the autochthon, as seen by the refugee.

Contrary to our expectations no systematic course could be established in the figures for the evaluation which the refugee thought the autochthon had about him.

3.1.2.2 Changes in evaluation by the refugee about the autochthon.

Here again, and contrary to our expectations no systematic course could be established for this evaluation.

3.1.2.3 Changes in evaluation about the autochthon's hospitality.

As we have already seen, a significantly more favourable judging, in the course of the first three years' stay, about the autochthon's hospitality was not found

3.1.2.4 Changes in the proportion of families acquiring personal contact.

The increase in the proportion of families that came to have 'personal contact' with one or more autochthonous families — in III, 23% and in IV, 66% — seems to be a valuable index for the progress of acculturation. Where, however, 'personal contact', in the restricted sense used by us, could come into being and could continue under influence of all sorts of circumstances which lay outside the initiative and intention of the refugee, the aforesaid proportional increase is, as it stands, a dubious

index for the progress of acculturation. The considerable number of families who dreaded renewing a given personal contact with autochthons, or who did not feel comfortable during a renewed contact, leads one to suppose even that the rise of the afore mentioned proportions will not correlate with increased acculturation. Only if it can be shown that a relation exists between personal contact, or lack of it on the one hand, and on difference in height of the place occupied in a clear acculturation index on the other, may the acquisition of 'personal contact' (p.c.) be used as an indicator for progress in acculturation. As acculturation index we took the height at which the refugee evaluated the autochthon in the successive phases of the investigation. Out of the total number of families available a group was composed in such a way as to meet the following conditions.

- (a) no p.c. in Phases I and II
- (b) either p.c. or no p.c. in Phase III
- (c) an evaluation about the autochthon in I, II and III.

Of the families with p.c. in Phase III, the average evaluation about the autochthon is calculated in I, II and III, respectively (see solid line in diagram 28).

The same was done with respect to families without p.c. (see broken line in diagram 28). Repeating the procedure, - while substituting Phase IV for III in formulating it we obtain the results that are shown in diagram 29. On the basis of these results, it seems justified to use the enjoyment of 'personal contact' or, with due alteration of details, the increase

in the percentage of families enjoying 'personal contact' as an index for the progress of acculturation of the individual or the group, respectively.

3.1.2.5 Lack of contact with other people

We saw that theme 7, which concerned the lack of contact with other people, not only remained relatively high in proportion, but also gave no indication of significant proportion changes up until two years after the date of arrival. In the four phases the proportions were namely:

I	II	III	IV
45%	42%	40%	24%

This datum shows that, during the first two years, there was little in the way of an increased satisfaction of the need for integration into a social communicative pattern of contacts. It seems more than probable that the freezing of the satisfaction of this need exercised a slowing down of the adaptation process (especially of its acculturation component). The unavoidable fading of contacts with friends and acquaintances in the country of origin was apparently not compensated for sufficiently by acquiring new contacts with autochthons of the receiving country. A further confirmation of this supposition may be found in the fact that, of the families who said they did not feel at home in the Netherlands, an increasing percentage gave as a cause for this inadequate contact with the autochthon, viz.,

II	III	IV
27%	62%	71%

We are of the opinion that it is legitimate

to use the course of the proportions relevant to lack of social contact as an indicator of the course of adaptation and we conclude from the course contained in the given data that the adaptation of this group of refugees, in the social communicative ~~phase~~ has been retarded.

N.B. insertion

Table 20.

Men in III who:	Average evaluation score with regard to									\rightarrow Σ 9
	Climate in			Food in			Hospitality in			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
A. felt at home	6.0	6.6	4.8	6.3	5.7	6.3	4.3	8.0	6.5	6.1
B. did <u>not</u> feel at home	3.8	3.8	4.2	4.5	4.6	4.2	3.4	3.5	6.0	4.2
A > B	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Table illustrating section 3.1.1.3; see page 93.

3.1.3 Expressional indicators

Expressional indicators refer to the way in which the refugee expressed himself in consequence of the conversation topics put before him.

3.1.3.1 Nuanced mode of expression

It was noticeable that the refugee, after a period of time, began to express himself less rigorously in terms of only black and white. In his reactions to a question, the tendency

to employ nuances in modifying a judgement arose. Examples of this are spontaneous attempts at formulating an answer to question 40: What is the opinion held by people here of the Indonesian Dutch?

- "The Dutch will of course say that there are different categories of Indonesian Dutch."
- "That depends so much on whether they are giving their opinions about our intelligence, or about our zest for work or about our clothes or about our food."
- "That's difficult to say; there are so many different factors and people."
- "That is very difficult (to give evaluation on the scale); there are so many differences".

The percentage of families that expressed themselves, after the fashion of these examples, in a nuanced way, increased with the length of their stay. In the case of questions 40 and 41 the percentages were established for different families who expressed themselves in a nuanced way in the successive phases.*

*Question 41 was: What is your opinion about the Dutch (people) here? The following formula was used in order to determine a proportion.

$$\frac{N_x(1.2) + N_x(1) + N_x(2)}{N(1.2) + N(1) + N(2)} \times 100,$$

where

- N(1.2) is the no. of families reaction to both questions 1 and 2;
- N(1) is the no. of families reacting only to question 1;
- N(2) is the no. of families reacting only to question 2;
- $N_x(1.2)$ is the no. of families reacting to both questions 1 and 2 with x (i.e. nuanced mode of expression);
- $N_x(1)$ is the no. of families reacting to question 1 only with x;
- $N_x(2)$ is the no. of families reacting to question 2 only with x.

The refugee's experience and realization that the autochthons differ among themselves in their opinion of him and in their manner towards him seems, after all, to be a first step in the direction of decreasing the distance between refugee and autochthon with regard to the evaluation of various affairs met with in the environment.

3.1.3.2 Extenuating circumstances.

When the refugee excuses the autochthon some conduct or characteristic which he regards as being reprehensible, by naming circumstances which would make it appear that the autochthon was not to blame, we speak of 'extenuating circumstances'. We meet this tendency towards pleading 'extenuating circumstances' by the refugee in two conversation topics, viz.: about the Dutchman's hospitality and the way in which Dutch parents brought up their children. For examples turn to pp.

It would appear that the mildness of judgments about others, or, if one prefers, the breaking-down of prejudices, is promoted when the judge is forced to live in the same material circumstances as the judged. Apparently the law of common fate underlies not only the unification of various different objects in the same field of perception but also the unification of initially differing evaluations by distinctive groups living in the same environment.

The spontaneous pleading of extenuating circumstances appears to be an indicator of the progress of acculturation by the foreigner.

3.1.3.3 Hetero social identity experience

The refugee's experience of his adopting conduct which he initially thought reprehensible is here named 'hetero social identity experience'.

The spontaneous admittal of his experience, which we likewise find in the conversation topics concerning the autochthon's hospitality and way the autochthonous parents treat their children, seems to us a concrete justification for using the hetero-social-identity-experience as an index for the progress of acculturation.

The refugee gave as the cause of adopting autochthonous ways, the nature of the material-financial-circumstances in the Netherlands. The refugee's giving this as the cause of his adopting of autochthonous way makes more probable the correctness of the general proposition: that the acculturation of the foreigner is promoted by his having to live in the same material circumstances as the autochthon. Someone who has to live and work in the same material circumstances as others makes some part of their outlook and sense of values his or her own.

While running the risk of being blamed for triviality, we state this proposition very explicitly for the reason that in social psychology and more especially in sociology the so-called 'contrainte sociale' is seen as the homologizing factor 'par excellence' in the coming into effect of collective patterns of values and behaviour.

3.1.3.4 Emotional charge of the remarks

For the determination of the emotional charge of remarks, only the interviewer was available as a recording instrument, with all concomitant subjective influences. Besides, the interviewer was a Dutchman, that is, a representative of a group towards which the refugee had been brought up with an inferiority feeling.

Thirdly, the refugee, in common with the Oriental, concealed his feelings more than an Occidental would in front of a stranger. The last two factors mentioned, have, in the first phase of the investigation, most probably played the role of camouflaging emotions. Consequently diagram 31 showing the interviewer's impressions of the emotional charge of the remarks in the four successive phases, should be viewed with the necessary caution.

3.1.4 Indicators of engagement

Indicators of engagement refer to the refugee's being in forms of work or of recreation offered by the new environment.

The great progress made in becoming engaged in various forms of occupation, manifested in the falling percentage of refugees complaining of boredom and in the rising percentage of refugees evaluating positively the nature of their work, seems to us to be closely correlated with progress in adaptation.

Consequently both phenomena are wielded by us as indicators for the progress of adaptation by the refugees to their new milieu. The percentage-run for those complaining of boredom was:

I	II	III	IV
69%	59%	54%	43%

The percentage-run for those who were evaluating the nature of their work positively was:

II	III	IV
28%	38%	52%

Beside the indicators discussed so far, there were undoubtedly yet others that could have been thought out and used. Thus, for example:

(a) the exploration of the new environment by means of walks and bicycle rides, travelling, getting to know the district and country by means of radio, t.v. and newspaper items;

- (b) the taking up of membership of a society, club, religious and/or political group;
- (c) dressing, furnishing the home and behaving according to autochthonous patterns.

Such-like data, not unimportant in the study of the adaptation process, were for various reasons deliberately not collected in this investigation. We were endeavouring, after all, to study the adaptation process from the angle of change which in the course of time came to the fore in the experiences and evaluations of the refugees. Disregarding this argument, however, and also the argument that one cannot investigate everything, the objection remains that it is not clear to which specific stage in the process of adaptation, nor to which formal modality of that process — habituation, assimilation, acculturation — the aforementioned data would appertain. They appear rather to indicate conditions which might be said to have influenced favourably adaptation to the new environment.

Although this was not explicitly observed and recorded, the interviewer could notice a definite progress with respect to the viewpoints named as examples (a, b and c).

Most noticeable and rapid was the progress in c. But the question arises as to what in this case the function was of, for instance, the circumstance that one could not buy alternative clothing, soft furnishing and furniture in the Netherlands, and what the function of the fact that most of the refugees were doing their utmost to appear in their social surroundings as did the autochthons of the receiving country?

"Prendre un rôle — either under pressure, or deliberately — c'est être pris par son rôle.

Nous finissons par devenir ce que nous avons
décidé de paraître." (Nédoncelle).

Viewed thus, the phenomena b and c are to
be looked upon rather as conditions than as
signs of advanced adaptation.

3.2 GENERAL SKETCH OF THE COURSE OF ADAPTATION

On his way to the country offering him asylum, the refugee experienced with shifting emphasis his liberation from the troubles and cares which had driven him from his fatherland: the oppression of the uncertain arrival which he was to face; the sorrow on account of all that was dear to him and left behind. Against the background of his individual history of experiences, rooted in the country of origin, he entertained undifferentiated and rose-coloured expectations about things awaiting him in the country lying ahead.

The first encounter with what had been till then unknown from experience, led to his seeing in full relief those environmental facets which differed from corresponding facets in the country left behind. For our refugees these were the outward appearance and behaviour of the autochthonous population (theme 1), the appearance of the houses, streets, shops and buildings and of the scenery (theme 2). However, soon after his arrival — presumably in the first weeks — even harder facts confronted the refugee in increasing urgency, viz:

- (a) that his former ways of doing or leaving things undone — his old familiar, ingrained ways and habits in homemaking and working, in recreation and amusement, in dress, in food, in going about with others — were impracticable;
- (b) that his social self, his 'being somebody' — with the role, position, status and significance in relation to acquaintances, family and friends — had vanished.

The repercussion of these facts on the refugee's

existence, together with the way in which he assimilates these facts — in the emotional, cognitive and conative spheres — determine the modality of the individual process of adaptation to new circumstances of life.

The personal disposition of the refugee, the nature and degree of his former social integration, his being married or not, his former ability to move easily between various groups with differing living styles, and the degree to which he lived anonymously in his country of origin are all factors which, presumably, influence the repercussion and assimilation of the aforesaid facts.

In spite of the considerable differences between individuals, it is the task of an investigation such as the one under consideration, to expose the general characteristics of the adaptation process, and this unavoidably brings with it abstraction and distancing concerning the concrete reality of the individual. This should be kept in mind throughout the general sketch of the adaptation process given here.

Confrontation by the afore-mentioned facts led, among other things, to a longing for the familiar which had been fled. At the outset the correspondence with relations and friends, who remained behind, was intensive and owed its existence and theme to home-sickness. The way of life and circumstances which had been left behind were idealized. The dark sides disappeared into the background and the bright sides were emphasized disproportionately in the retrospective imagination and experience

of the refugee. Circumstances in the new way of life, biased and gloomy when seen in distress, acted as points of reference. Many toyed with the idea that they were back in their own fatherland; others entertained fancies about emigrating to other places, since they felt they had nothing to lose and everything to gain. This hovering between escaping from and assenting to the frustrating circumstances in which they found themselves, brought many to a renewed appreciation of their family as the only centre in which the familiar customs, outlook and patterns of behaviour had not been turned topsyturvy and in which the sense of feeling at home was preserved. It is probable that this induced a number of refugees to answer our question about the strength of the bond within the family in the affirmative and produced a sharp rise in their need for a private dwelling.

Living in the boarding-house in no way guaranteed the freedom to remain undisturbed with one's dear ones in the intimacy of the family, with its firm social structure. The proximity of fellow refugees; making do with a common laundry; the little quarrels between the children of different families; the anything but sound-proof walls between rooms and the continual running across others on the stairs, in the passage and elsewhere in the boarding-house; all these increased considerably the chances of conflict and tension and constantly broke into the freedom and privacy of the family. separate from other people.

It was especially the wife who seemed to suffer from being cooped up in the same house with

other women; this led not infrequently to tensions and made her distracted and despairing and induced her to lose her faith in the temporariness of the given situation completely.

Meanwhile there was the growing realization that neither contacts with people left behind out there — by means of letters, forwarded newspapers and wireless reports — nor lingering fancies and idealization of what had been abandoned could lead to a real delivery from the distress of the uprooting.

Some even deliberately put aside information sent them from out there, since they found it an obstacle to their adaptation to the new circumstances. More important, however, is the fact that habituation to all sorts of things was meanwhile progressing rapidly and inevitably. Each and everyday the refugee was confronted with the so-called panoramic and vegetal-hedonistic facets of the new environment. He walked through the street between houses, shops and buildings; he saw and heard the autochthons busy in their occupations and he became subject to the rules of the game of social relations. He felt compelled to dress, eat and divide his day according to the pattern of circumstances in which he found himself placed. The cold weather forced him to buy winter clothes and the shops offered only 'autochthonous' clothing; the boarding house served meals at set hours three times a day and the food that was served was of a certain kind cooked in a certain way and not what one would have prepared oneself given the opportunity. The

household had to be kept going; much had to be done — the washing, scrubbing and ironing, the sewing, knitting and mending. In short, the simple matter of living from day to day with all that that involves, was forcing the refugee inevitably to adjust himself to the many circumstances in his new environment; whether he was willing or not. This necessity to adjust promoted in no small measure:

- (a) the refugee's becoming accustomed to that which had initially been striking — on account of the difference between 'there' and 'here' — and which had at first been rejected with emotion in aspirations and judgments;
- (b) the refugee's adoption of the autochthon's daily practices.

Habituation to all sorts of things and adoption of autochthonous patterns of conduct, — accomplished as it were automatically under the pressure of circumstances in which life was to continue — also promoted susceptibility and attention to the positive values of the new environment such as:

the assurance of a roof over one's head, of food and heating each day; of medical aid and further support in cases of illness; and assurance of opportunities for the children's future; the assurance of being free from persecution and oppression.

With the acquisition of a job and a self-earned income, the social self of the pater familias underwent a considerable restoration. His experience of having become independent of begging through public assistance committees and of once again being able to support

his family himself, restored his self-respect and faith in his own abilities. Through having a job the refugee — if he had been able to hold his own among his colleagues — meanwhile went through the process of conforming to the norms of the group, with regard to the work itself, the working speed, the boss, the firm, and so on, so that he began to feel himself socially involved in and accepted by his working group and found in this a foundation for the restitution of his social self. This restitution progressed more easily in proportion as:

his employment fitted the refugee's capabilities better; the difference in social status between present and past fields of activity was smaller; the acquired income offered equal or better material prosperity than did the old income; the difference was smaller between the refugee and his colleagues with respect to the 'climate' of their views and sense of values about various matters confronting them daily.

With the occupation of a private dwelling, the refugee not only (a) casts anchor in his second fatherland, but also — unintentionally — assumes (b) a soil for new aspirations, activities and cares.

This becomes clear when we examine more closely a number of consequences, which arise from living in a private dwelling.

ref(a) 1. The often very painful questions whether to stay here or go elsewhere was resolved by most of the refugees in favour of staying.

2. The refugee can be himself with his family, since the necessity of conforming to the ways and views of others — both fellow refugees in the boarding house and autochthons — can be reduced in his own house to an independently determined minimum.
3. The historically acquired style of living is never so "true to nature" as when it is practised in a setting where one may decide what to do and what not to do according to one's own ideas. One eats, drinks, amuses oneself, busies oneself and goes around with members of the family according to old familiar ways.
4. Nowhere is one more at home than with wife and children in one's 'own house'. Presuming the marriage relationship is normal, there is no better haven for the frustrations one meets at sea in the new surroundings than one's own home.

ref.(b) 1. All manner of things were purchased on removal to a private dwelling: fire-place, stove, washing machine, lampshades, floor covering, curtains, tables and chairs, beds and bedding, pots and pans, knives and forks, cups and plates. Tools and materials — hammer, pair of pincers, screwdriver and paint-brush. — were bought and busily employed in odd jobs about the house.

True enough, the refugees carted this and the other from out there, but what was left behind in the abandoned country far exceeded the few paltry possessions that had been saved.

The State made available a rent-free loan that was to be paid back over a long period.

But the cost of the purchases not infrequently exceeded this loan, so that the refugee soon came into debt. This happened all the more easily on account of the phoney salesman offering vacuum-cleaners, stoves, radio and T.V. sets to the unsuspecting refugee whom they persuaded to sign a so-called 'on approval, no obligations' form, which turned out to be a burdensome purchasing contract.

2. The acquisition of greater financial means — the problem of how to improve one's standard of living — becomes a preponderate trouble.
3. The housewife is expected all at once to carry on the whole housekeeping alone — shopping, cooking, washing dishes, polishing, scrubbing, washing clothes, mending, ironing and so on. If her husband has a job outside the home, she is on her own to do all the household tasks, many of which she used to be able to delegate to him.

After removal to a private dwelling attention and action are completely concentrated on the running of the household and on the furnishing of the dwelling. The principal worries that arise as a result are: how is the household to be run and how is more money to be earned?

In accordance as the organisation of the housekeeping adopts more tangible forms and follows more routine activity patterns, the

experience of the autochthon's otherness comes anew into full relief. The foreigner felt himself sooner regarded as a curiosity than met on an equal footing with other autochthons. The initially rare and incidental contact with neighbours — come into being through the milkman and green-grocer on their rounds or through children playing together or quarrelling — was usually seen by the refugee as the result of inquisitiveness on the part of the autochthon. Only if his approach was experienced as clearly being affectionate — as, for example, in the case of receiving help or a present unasked — was the way for further contact opened.

The common language of foreigner and autochthon undoubtedly acted in this as a favourable element. On the other hand, a serious hindrance in the continuation of contact was the collective inferiority feeling towards the Dutch, which our refugees had brought with them from their country of origin. It became the spotlight with which the refugee coloured all the perceived differences between himself and the autochthon; a colouring view which remained with those who had already maintained 'personal contact' with a Dutch family for a year and longer. It is not, therefore, surprising that, three years after his arrival, the refugee could say he had become accustomed to many things and felt fairly well at ease in his new situation, while denying that he felt at home in the Netherlands. Within the four walls of his private dwelling he felt at home; outside, not at all.

That the collective inferiority feeling was a retarding factor in the acculturation of the

refugee seems very probable. The will to adapt — present in most of the refugees — did not remove this retardation. It strengthened rather than weakened the ambivalence of their existence. This fact was noticeable in, for instance, their simultaneous praise and censure of the manners so rapidly adopted from Dutch children by their own. The duration of such a collective inferiority feeling is impossible to predict. In the case of the refugees of this study it would not be too venturesome to say that the feeling of inferiority will stay with them for life; especially since it was, in the refugee's view, coupled to an undeniable difference between himself and the autochthon, namely a difference in pigmentation.

On the basis of data which were collected in this investigation, we have already in former pages made the distinctions within the concept 'adaptation', of three components, viz., habituation, assimilation and acculturation. We have now endeavoured to illustrate the process of adaptation in our refugees as a function of the length of their stay, by expressing it in terms of these three components. Diagram 32 gives the result of this unorthodox procedure.

The high horizontal line represents the basic constituents — in the perceptive, behavioral and evaluative spheres — which share in the ordering and regulation of the everyday life of that autochthon who will in due course, be most closely approached by the refugee on account of common profession, social status, general education and walk of life.

(Diagram 32)

3.3 FACTORS PROMOTING OR HINDERING ADAPTATION

Where the factors which promote or hinder adaptation by the refugee are concerned, the investigation here reported allows the expression of suppositions only.

That these factors do not allow the straightforward drawing of conclusions is due to the complexity of the process of adaptation and to the viewpoint from which this process was approached methodologically. A descriptive study — as ours is — of the way in which the foreigner experiences and evaluates his new environment makes such strict deduction impossible. One should therefore not be misled by the perhaps too positive-sounding formulation of those factors.

A. The individual personality of the immigrant is a 'factor' which is mentioned in almost every adaptation study. In spite of the fact that our investigation produced no concrete results about this, it seems open to no doubt that the disposition of the immigrant — i.e. his psychophysical equipment and his individual history — contains a collection of variables which are co-determinate for the way in which his adaptation to the new milieu proceeds.

Which in fact these variables are is a question to which we shall not venture to answer. As examples of possible variables, the following may be named:

- emotional stability (in H.J.Eysenck's operationalisation);
- infectious sensitiveness for negative attitudes; mental rigidity;
- sociability (in W.C.Schutz's operationalisation); introversion - extroversion (in H.J.Eysenck's operationalisation);

- clannishness;
- age, sex;
- etc.

Only systematic investigation is which such-like variables are measured and factor-analytically ordered, can lead to a better founded insight into personality factors which in fact play a part in the adaptation of the foreigner .

B. The basic personality of the immigrant. By this is meant the deposit in each separate foreigner of the culture in which he lived before his removal elsewhere. Culture in the sense used here — that of Kardiner — refers to the whole pattern of institutions, where 'institutions' is defined as "any fixed mode of thought or behavior held by a group of individuals (i.e., a society) which can be communicated, which enjoys common acceptance, and infringement of, or deviation from which creates some disturbance in the individual or in the group".*

This definition of basic personality admits of the statement that the immigrant carries his culture with him to his new fatherland. Concerning the basic personality, some facts have emerged out of our investigation as a result of the placing of the same 'filter' four times in succession at the junction between that which the refugee brought with him from out there and that which he met with here in the forms of common patterns of evaluation, outlook and perception, and in ways of behaving. That filter was, as we know, the methodologically used there-here comparison within an identical series of conversation topics.

* Kardiner, A. The individual and his society. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939. (cf. p. 7).

By this means, the refugee was induced to state his experiences and observations. The following factors or dimensions in which foreigner and autochthon differ would appear to exert an influence on the progress of adaptation to the new environment:

- the way in which the day is lived through in exertion, relaxation, pleasures and amusements;
- the way of behaving towards an other (equal, superior, inferior, opposite sex, children);
- the evaluation of people, circumstances, events and objects;
- how favourably the foreigner generally evaluates the autochthon and how favourably he believes he is judged by the autochthon;
- the outwardly perceptible characteristics which show that foreigner and autochthon differ from each other (e.g. pigmentation of skin, difference of language, differences in intonation, articulation and sentence construction).

With reference to these variables it may be assumed that adaptation to a new environment becomes more difficult as:

- (a) the number of variables, in which the refugee experiences a difference between himself and the autochthon increases;
- (b) the size of the difference experienced by the refugee in a variable increases.

It would seem impossible to forward any supposition concerning the relative importance of each of the five variables.

C. Language in common with the autochthon is most probably a factor of the greatest importance in the promotion of adaptation, especially as a function of the social communicative facets of the new milieu.

The refugees of our investigation had the great advantage of a language in common with the

autochthon. In their manner of speaking the Dutch language, however, they varied noticeably in their articulation and intonation.

D. The simple necessity that life for himself and his family has to go on, forces the foreigner inescapably to accept many conditions of life.

Rejection of these conditions merely leads to a decrease of the pliability in his existence.

They thus determine to a high degree the adjustment to autochthonous patterns of conduct.

The cold weather, for example, thus compels the donning of coat and scarf when going out and the scarcity and expense of servants constrains the refugee to fulfil all household tasks alone and to let the children go unaccompanied to school.

E. Membership in a group of people with corresponding leanings in the spheres of religion, philosophy of life, politics, interests, evaluation patterns, etc., would enhance adaptation; lack of membership in such a group would retard it.

F. The possession or not of a family. Granting that a good relationship exists between husband and wife, and between them and their children, the possession of a family to which one returns daily would act as a queller of frustrations which are sustained in the new environment beyond the home and would thus ease adaptation. In order to act with this quality, it is important that:

(a) the children are still of such a tender age that they accept the authority and guidance of their parents. (See in connection with this the more rapid adaptation in children than in their parents);

(b) the privacy of the family is not interfered with. (In the boarding house this privacy was often not guaranteed in contrast to the private dwelling).

G. The feeling of being Somebody in the opinion of others — both in the neighbourhood of one's dwelling and in the surroundings at work — would enhance adaptation; and vice versa.

H. Having a job, so that one was able to keep oneself and one's family helped to overcome a feeling of being useless and reliant on charity, which was fatal for self respect and faith in one's abilities.

I. The level at which the immigrant believes the autochthon judges him. The lower this level is, the more retarded will be adaptation; and vice versa.

J. The level at which the immigrant evaluates the autochthon. The lower this level is, the more retarded will be adaptation; and vice versa.*

K. The dwelling together of people who had suffered the same fate appears to retard rather than further their adaptation to the new way of life. This is true not merely because proximity would cultivate group forming and so increase the possibility that a so-called 'Fremdkörper' (foreign body) would come into being within the autochthonous society; but also because:

- (a) the immigrant is given the opportunity to live his life — tensed between the styles of living out there and here — in an ambiguous or ambivalent way;
- (b) the immigrant is less compelled to make contact with the autochthon;
- (c) old attitudes, ways of living and habits may be more easily maintained;
- (d) information about the host country and its inhabitants is passed on and is more easily coloured through common prejudices;

* See pag. 119 for J¹ to be inserted.

(e) the communicative patterns are thrust upon one through proximity rather than allowed to develop through choice based on affection.

L. Since children provide a good occasion towards contact, the possession to children constitutes a favourable condition for the development of communication between foreigner and autochthon on condition that both parties do not adopt an attitude rejecting mutual contact.

M. The achievement of a higher standard of living than acquired out there — or, within the circle of experiences, a higher standard of living which is in view — almost certainly increases the foreigner's capacity to swallow obstacles in the road towards adaptation.

N. The possibility of practising the hobbies, forms of sport, games and recreation, which ^{substituting those} indulged in in the old days, and answering a corresponding pattern of needs, would seem to increase the chances of being adapted.

In order to predict from facts how adaptation of a group of potential immigrants to a new environment will proceed, and in order to be able to give a ~~lead~~ to adaptation in practice, it will be necessary that the variables listed above as well as the criteria for being adapted — as discussed forthwith — be operationalized metrically and put into factor analytical order, so that their actual relationships may be determined exactly that is, in correlational terms.

N.B. *) To be inserted on page 118

J¹ The level at which the autochthon evaluates the immigrant. The lower this level is, the more retarded will be adaptation; and vice versa.

3.4 THE CRITERIA FOR BEING ADAPTED

Adaptation to a new milieu presumably begins the very moment a foreigner sets foot in the new country, and the entire process may require a longer or shorter period to be completed.

Being adapted, however, is not only a question of extent of adaptation, but also of its modality, as should have been apparent from the distinctions made between perceptive, behavioural and evaluative adaptation, or from the distinctions parallel to these, between habituation, assimilation and acculturation.

Quantitatively it is possible to say of a foreigner that he is more or less accustomed to the perceptive facets of his environment; that in his behaviour he shows a higher or lesser degree of similarity to the autochthon's common pattern of activities; that is his evaluating, he has to a greater or smaller extent adopted the common patterns of evaluation of the autochthons amongst whom he moves. By these different modalities of adaptation is thus implied differences in depth of involvement and integration in the new milieu. The foreigner who has become completely habituated to the so-called panoramic facets of his second fatherland and who lives according to the common patterns of behaviour of the autochthons he moves amongst, but who has not yet adopted their common evaluation systems, is 'less' adapted than he who has incorporated these as well. Conformity of behaviour does not in fact necessarily imply congruity with the common evaluation systems of the autochthons, even if it will undoubtedly promote their absorption. Herein lies just one of the reasons which makes so difficult the formulation of clear-cut criteria for being adapted.

Many speculations have already been made about the determinants of the process of adaptation and concerning the criteria for being adapted in studies devoted to this extremely complicated and elusive phenomenon of adaptation. Our empirical investigation was, however, designed with the express purpose, among other things, of tracing real and recordable criteria to determine the degree of adaptation, Which, then, are these criteria?

Foreigners are 'adapted':

1. if, to the initially posed questions concerning 'the most striking', 'the most missed' and the 'greatest worry', they no longer react in the terms of
 - (a) themes 2 and 5, the panoramic facets of the environment ('habituation');
 - (b) theme 3, the freedom to do or leave undone ('assimilation');
 - (c) theme 7, contact with others ('acculturation');
2. if they do not diverge significantly from a group of autochthons, who correspond (to themselves) in matters of function, social status and walk of life, in the following evaluation dimensions:
 - the mentality of the autochthon;
 - the hospitality of the autochthon;
 - the treatment in shops;
 - the relations between the autochthon and his children;
 - the ways and manners of the autochthonous children;
3. if their average evaluation of daily work, of the goodfellowship in the working group, and of the supervisor does not deviate significantly from that of the autochthonous colleagues;

4. if they no longer experience any difference(s) between ~~their~~ own behaviour and that of the autochthons with whom they are acquainted;
5. if they react in a clearly affirmative manner to the question: "Do you feel at home here (in this country)?"
6. if they no longer spontaneously get round to comparing 'here' with 'there';
7. if they discard intimate patterns of action, which could be easily maintained in the new country since neither material nor social conditions prevent their continuance (e.g. the practice of going to sleep with a bolster or the use of a bottle of water instead of toilet roll).

Concerning the relative importance of these criteria in determining the degree of adaptation in a group of foreigners, it only remains to say the following;

- the order in importance of the criteria 1a, 1b and 1c are indicated by their alphabetical order;
- the internal weight of criterium 2 is a function of the distance between the average evaluation of the group of foreigners and a corresponding group of autochthons respectively for the five dimensions listed; the relative importance of these dimensions follows, as one would expect, the order in which they are given, the first dimension being the most important.
- to the internal weight of criterium 3 the same applies as has been said for criterium 2.

The degree of adaptation of any one foreigner may be determined analogously, where the criteria 1a, 1b, 1c, 2 and 3 are concerned. This on the understanding that, with respect to criteria 2 and 3, a distance - in sigma units - between

the evaluation of the foreigner and the average evaluation of a group of corresponding autochthons, is taken as the measure for the degree of adaptation of ~~the~~ foreigner. The smaller this distance is, the more adapted the individual will be, at least in terms of the given criterium.

DIAGRAM 2

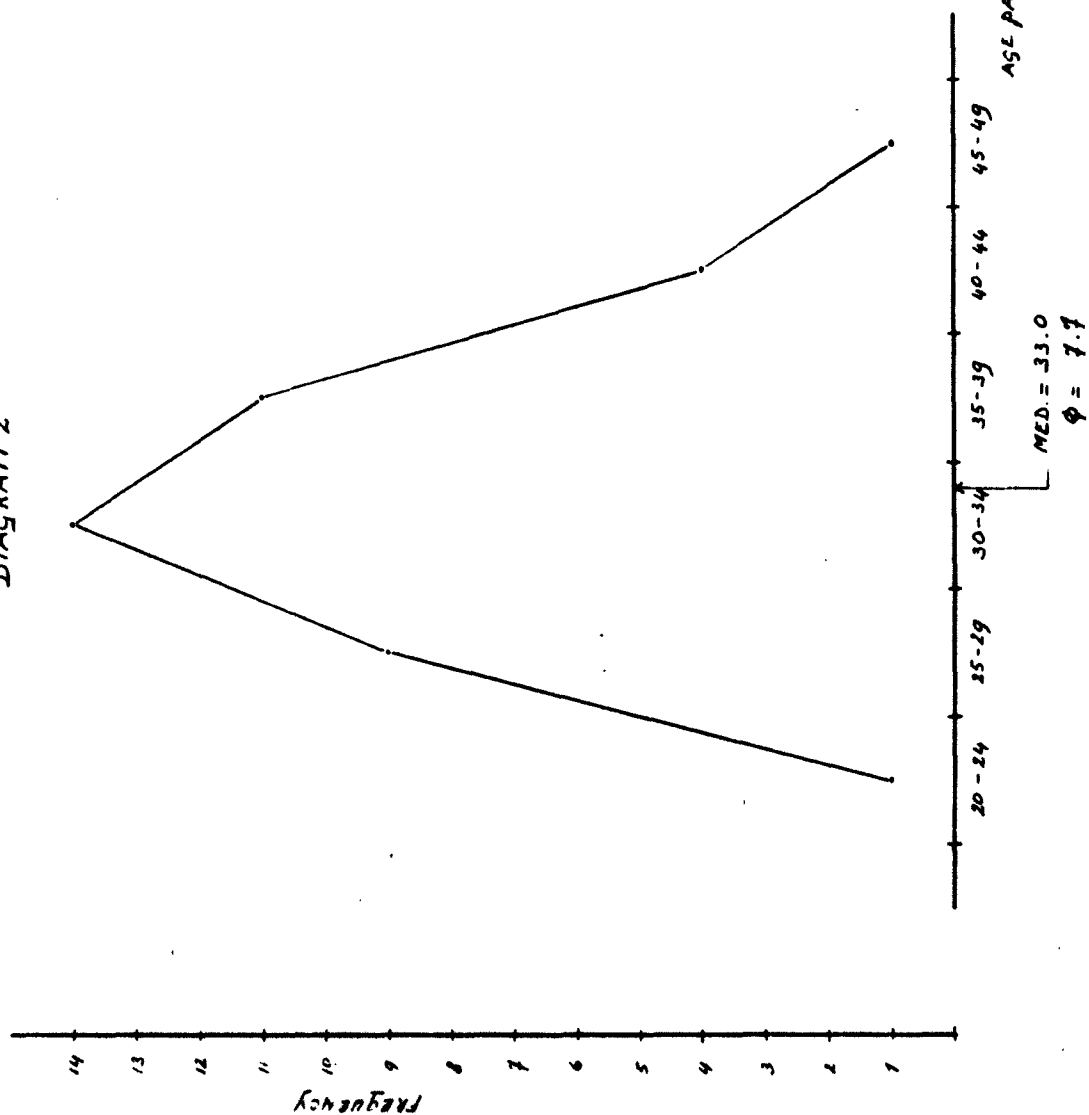


DIAGRAM 3

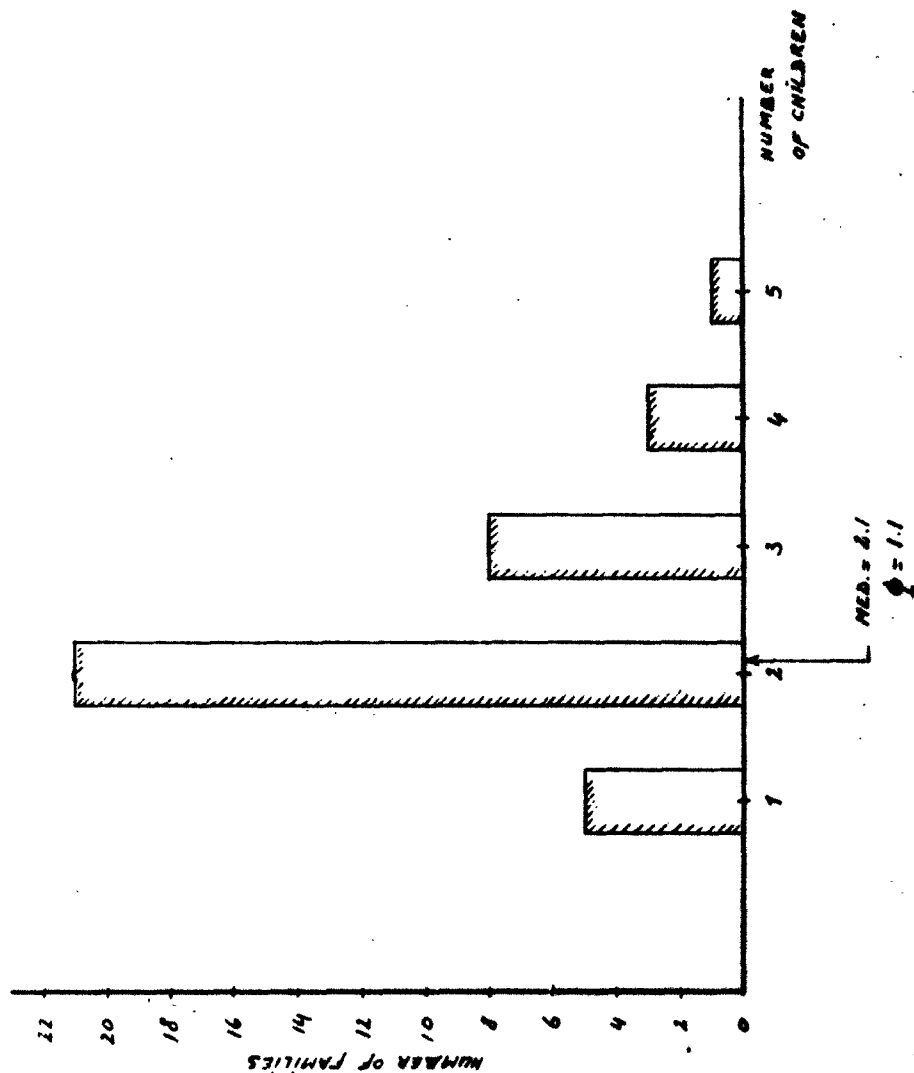


DIAGRAM 4

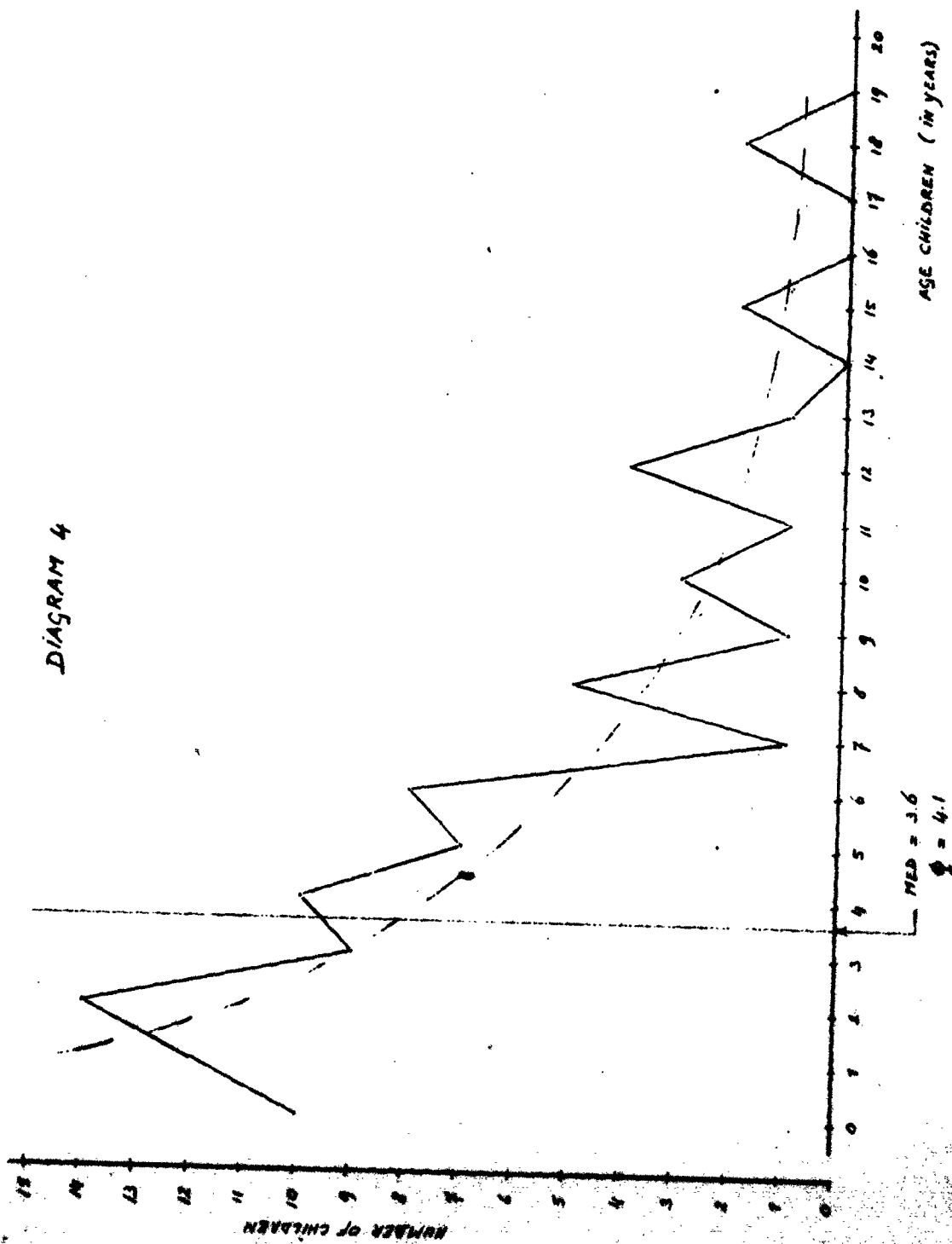
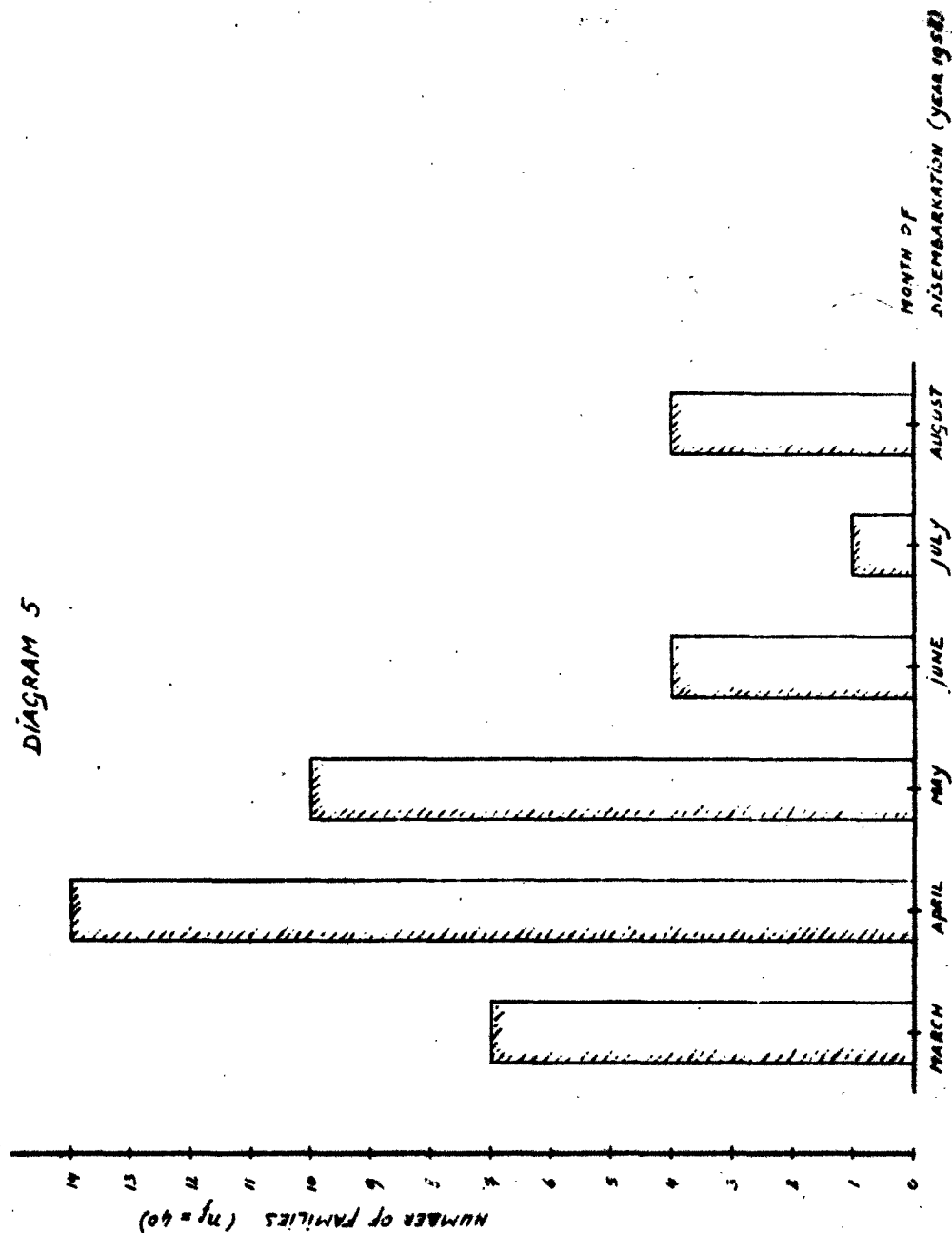


DIAGRAM 5



6. MAKING OUR LIVES
7. CONNECT WITH OTHERS
8. CLIMATE
9. COOP

3. THE FREEDOM TO DO AND LEAVE UNDONE
4. PEACE & JOY
5. REGULATION OF THE COMMUNITY

1. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR
2. APPEARANCE OF ENVIRONMENT, BUILDINGS, etc.

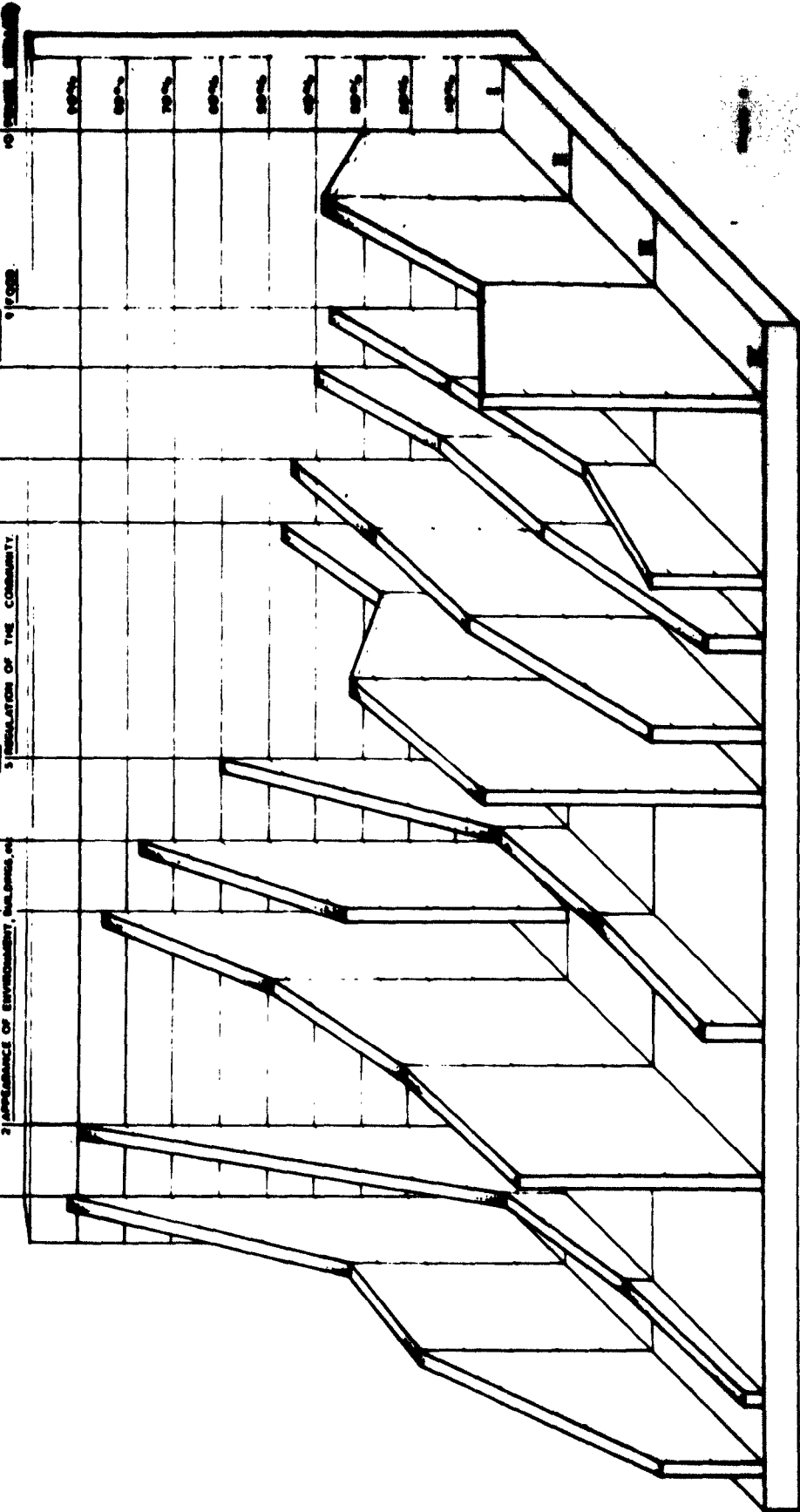


DIAGRAM 7

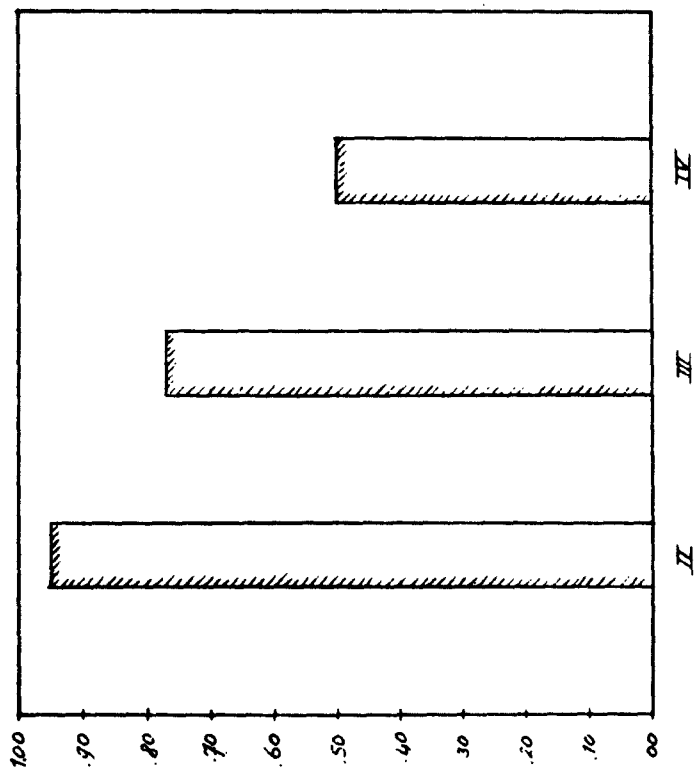


DIAGRAM 8

CAUSES OF NOT FEELING AT HOME

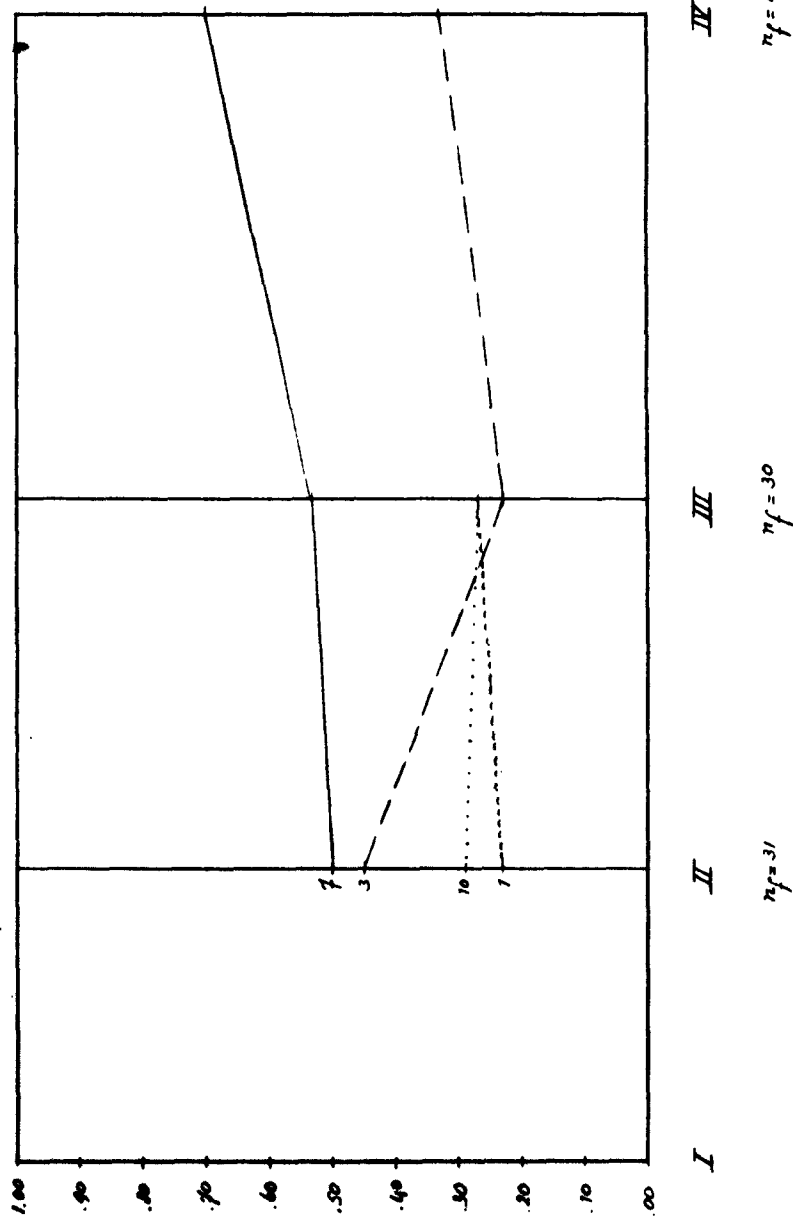
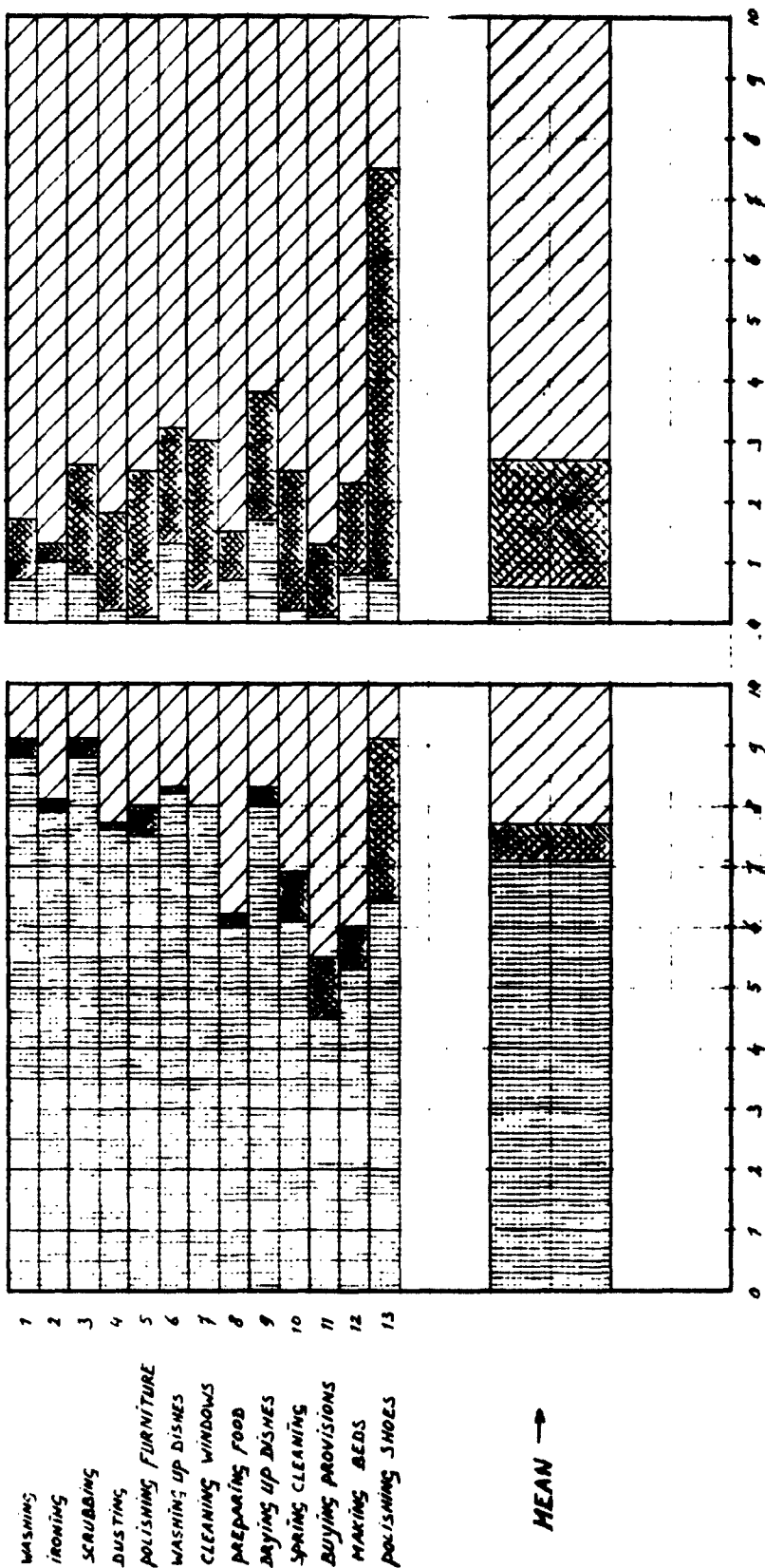


DIAGRAM 9

PATTERN OF HOUSEHOLD JOBS

THERE

HERE



MEAN →

Diagram 10

~~DEPRIVATION OF INDONESIAN FOOD~~

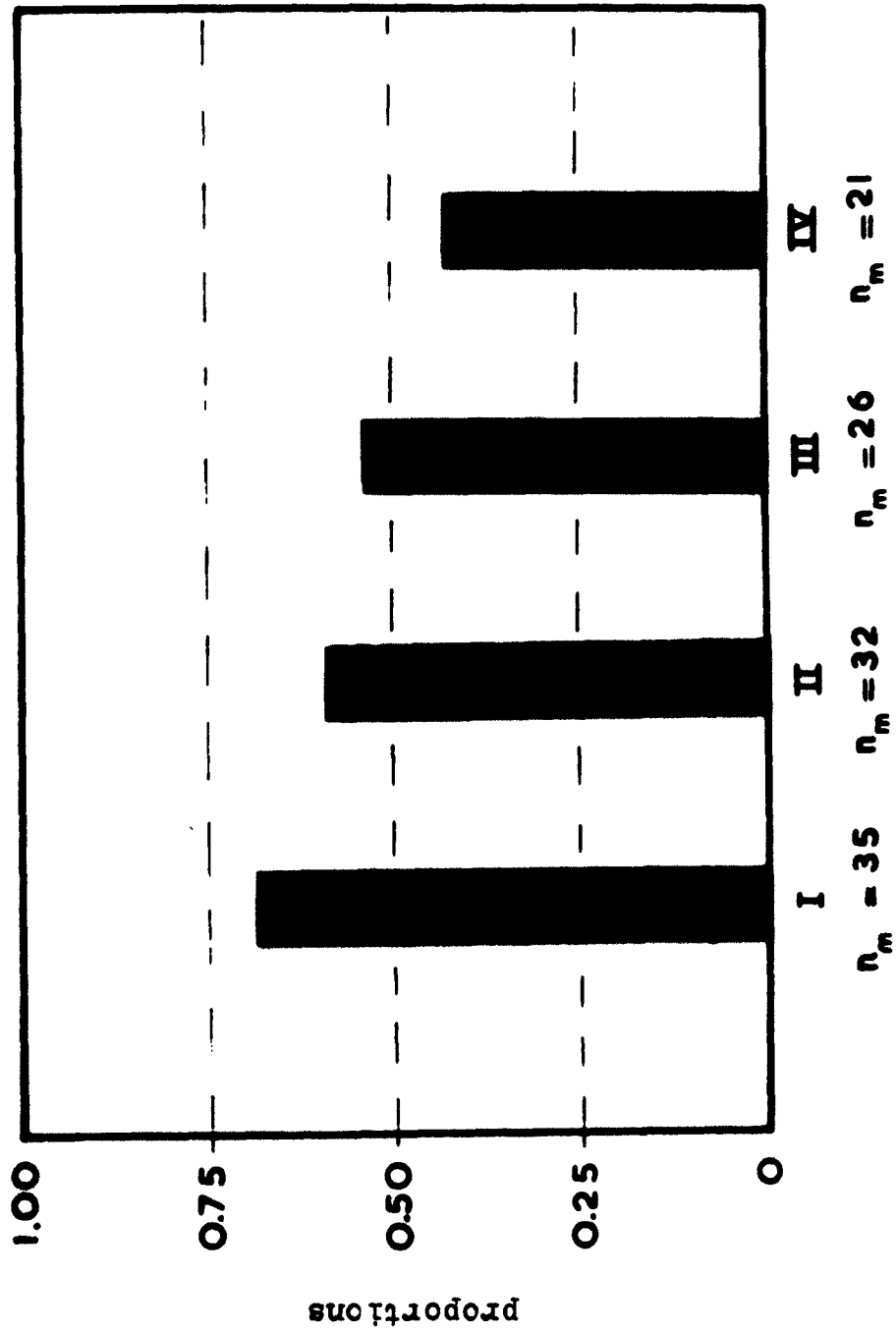


DIAGRAM 11

CARES OF LIFE

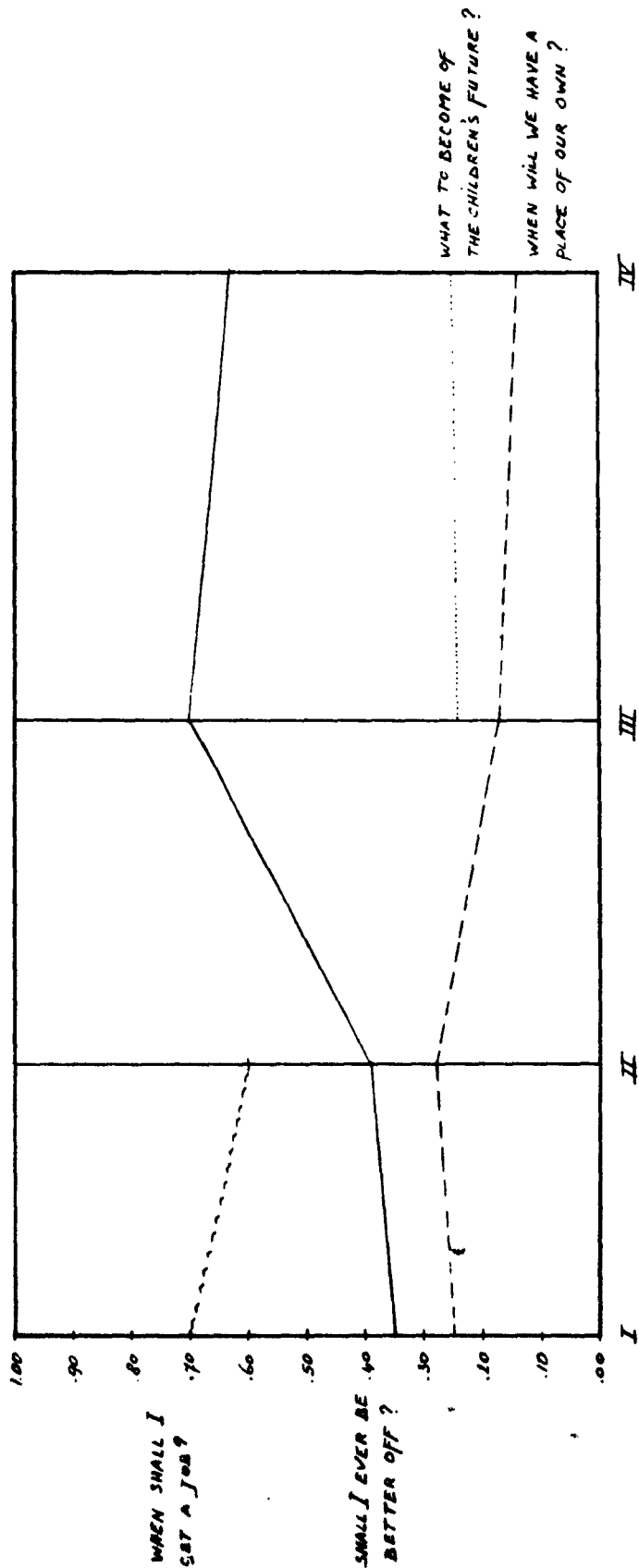


DIAGRAM 12

CHANCES OF IMPROVING ONE'S MATERIAL WELL-BEING

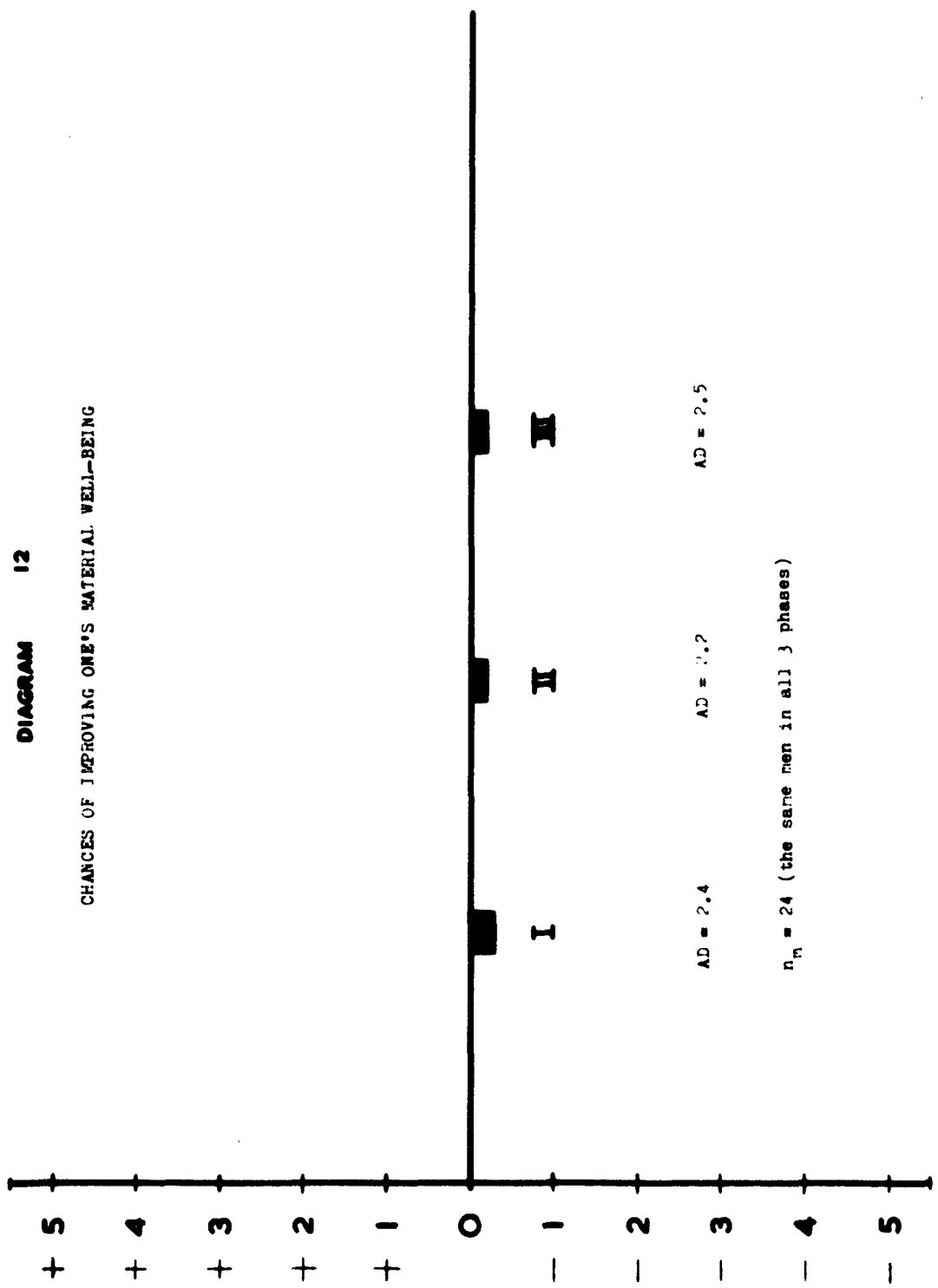


DIAGRAM 13

PERCENTAGE OF MEN POSITIVELY
EVALUATING THE NATURE OF THEIR WORK

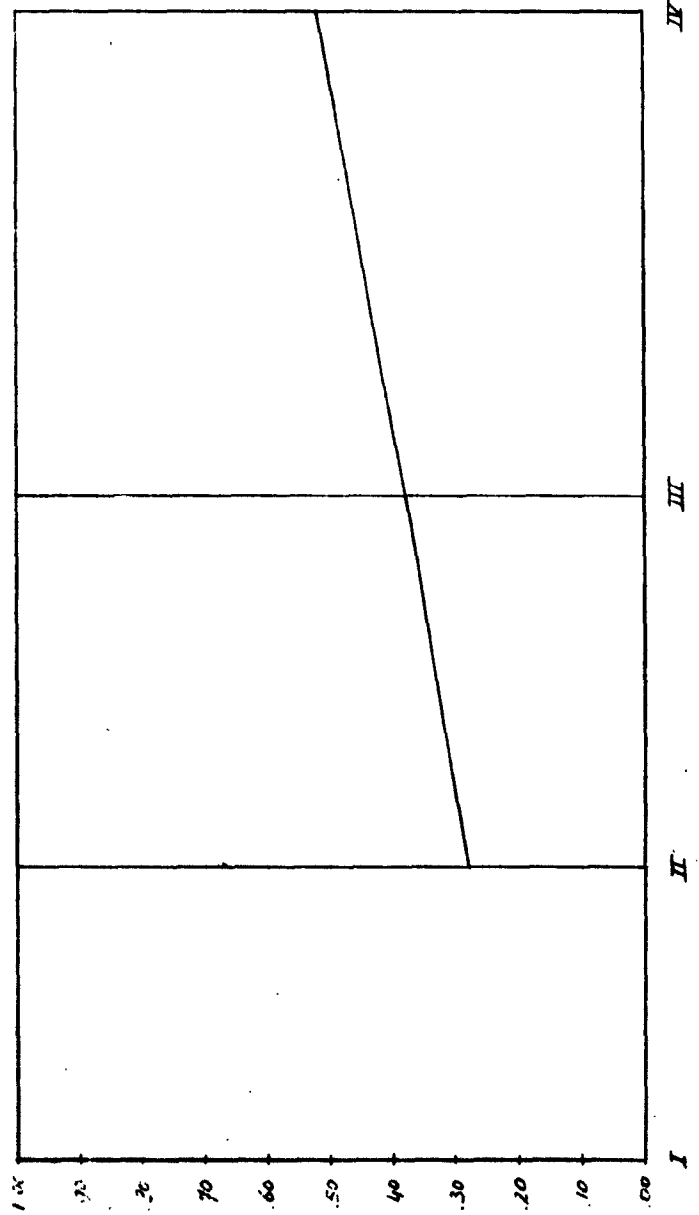


Diagram 14

FAMILIES WITH A PRIVATE HOUSE

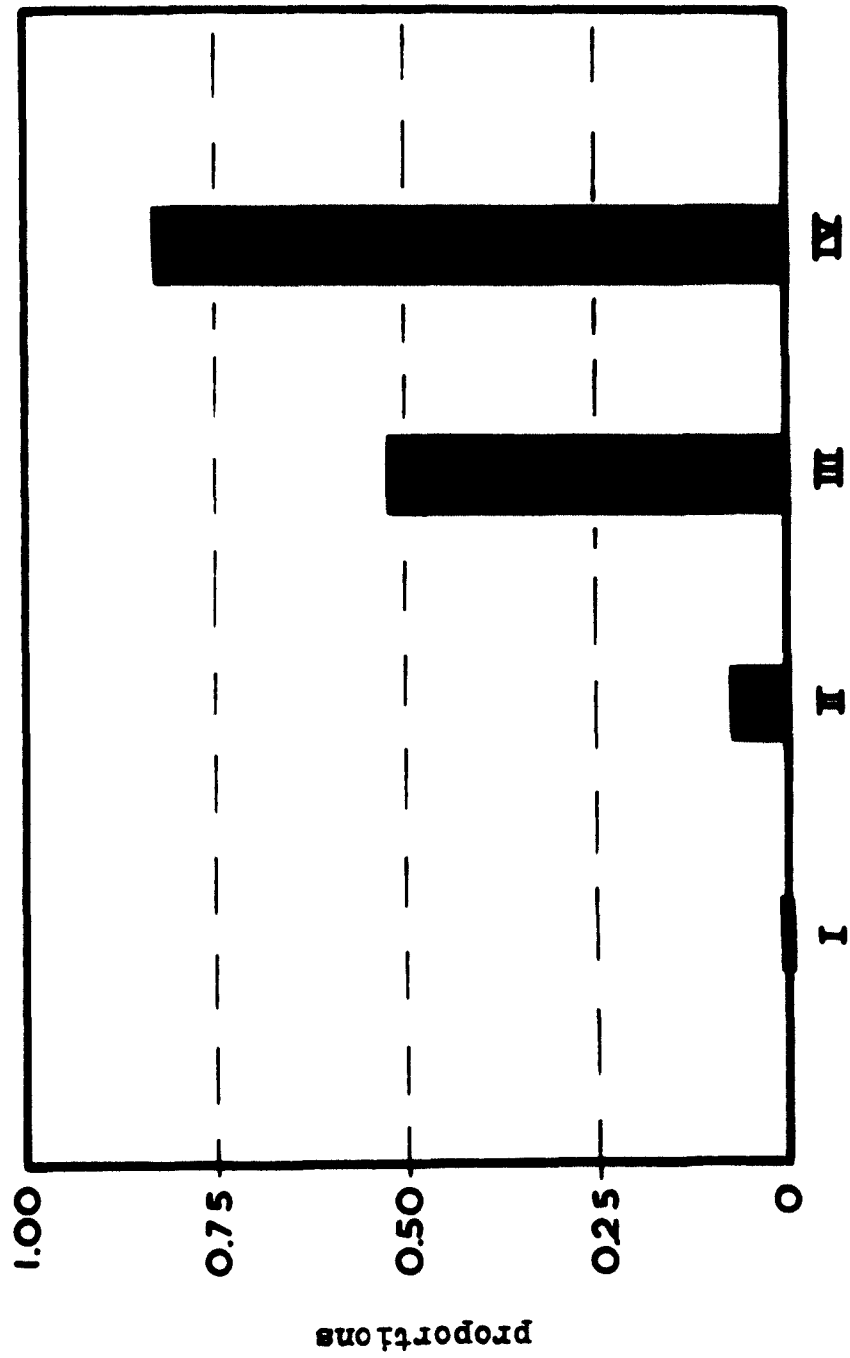


Diagram 15

THE CHILDREN'S FUTURE IN THE NETHERLANDS

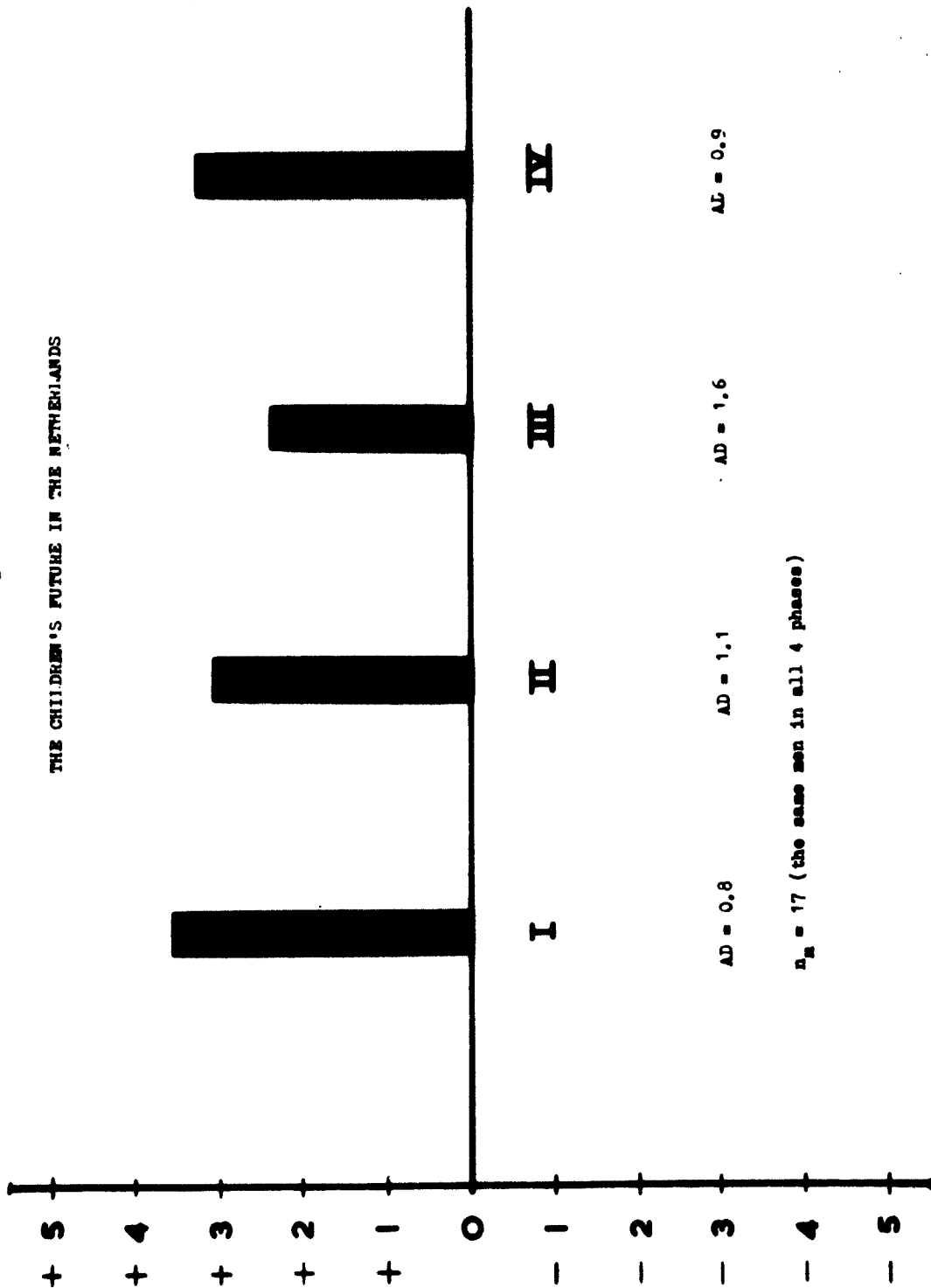
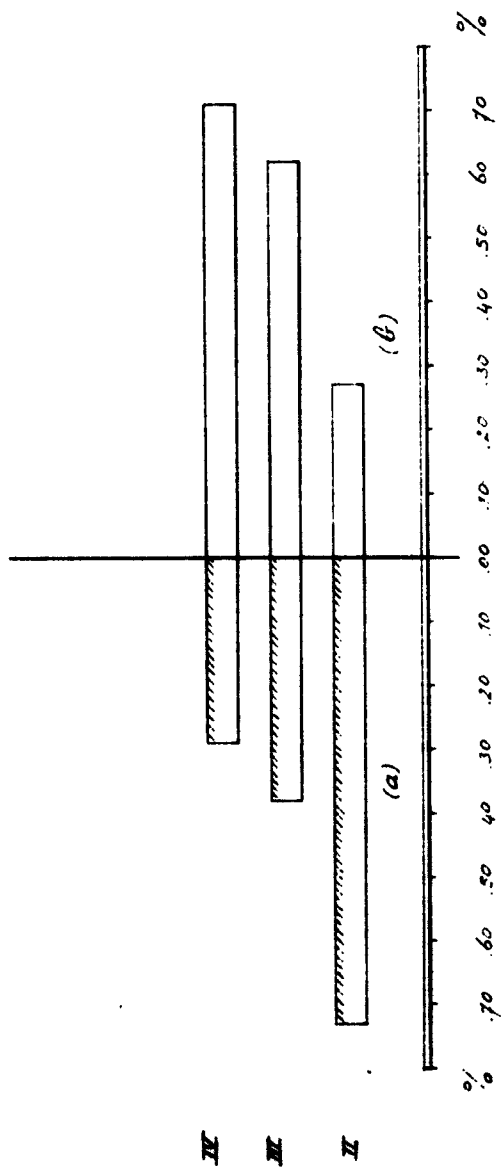


DIAGRAM 16



FEEL SUPERIOR; LOOK DOWN ON US; WE'RE AN
INFERIOR SORT OF PEOPLE, FEW CAPACITIES,
LAX.

(REACTIONS TO: "OPINION ABOUT YOU?" AND
"YOUR OPINION?")

THINK - WE'RE INDO'S AND LIVE IN STRAW
HUTS. SURPRISED AT OUR SPEAKING DUTCH.
THEY ARE BADLY INFORMED.

(REACTIONS TO: "OPINION ABOUT YOU?")

CONSIDER US AS INTRUDERS; LABOUR MARKET;
ADDITIONAL TAXATION

(REACTIONS TO: "your opinion?")

THE DUTCH HERE ARE FRIENDLY AND
HELPFUL.

(REACTION TO "your opinion?")

THAT DEPENDS ON THE PERSON IN QUESTION;
HIS POSITION; DISTRICT HE HAILS FROM.

(REACTION TO: "OPINION ABOUT YOU?" AND:
"your opinion?")

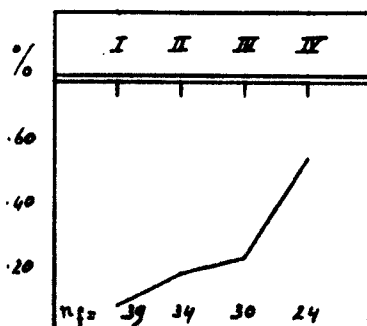
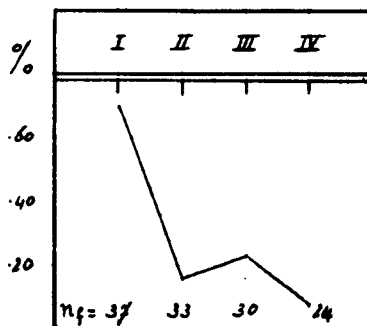
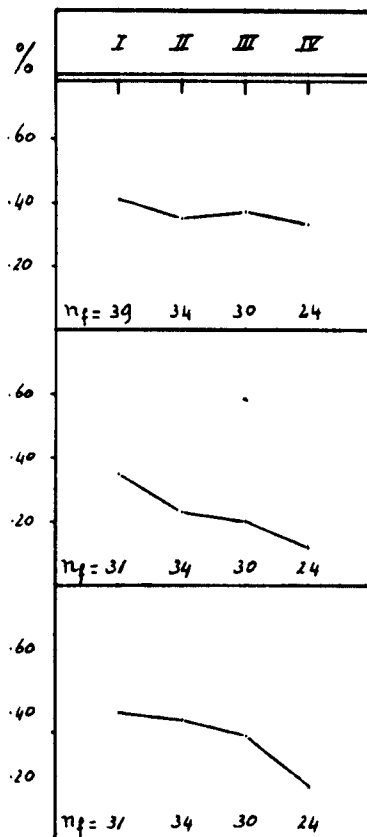


Diagram 18

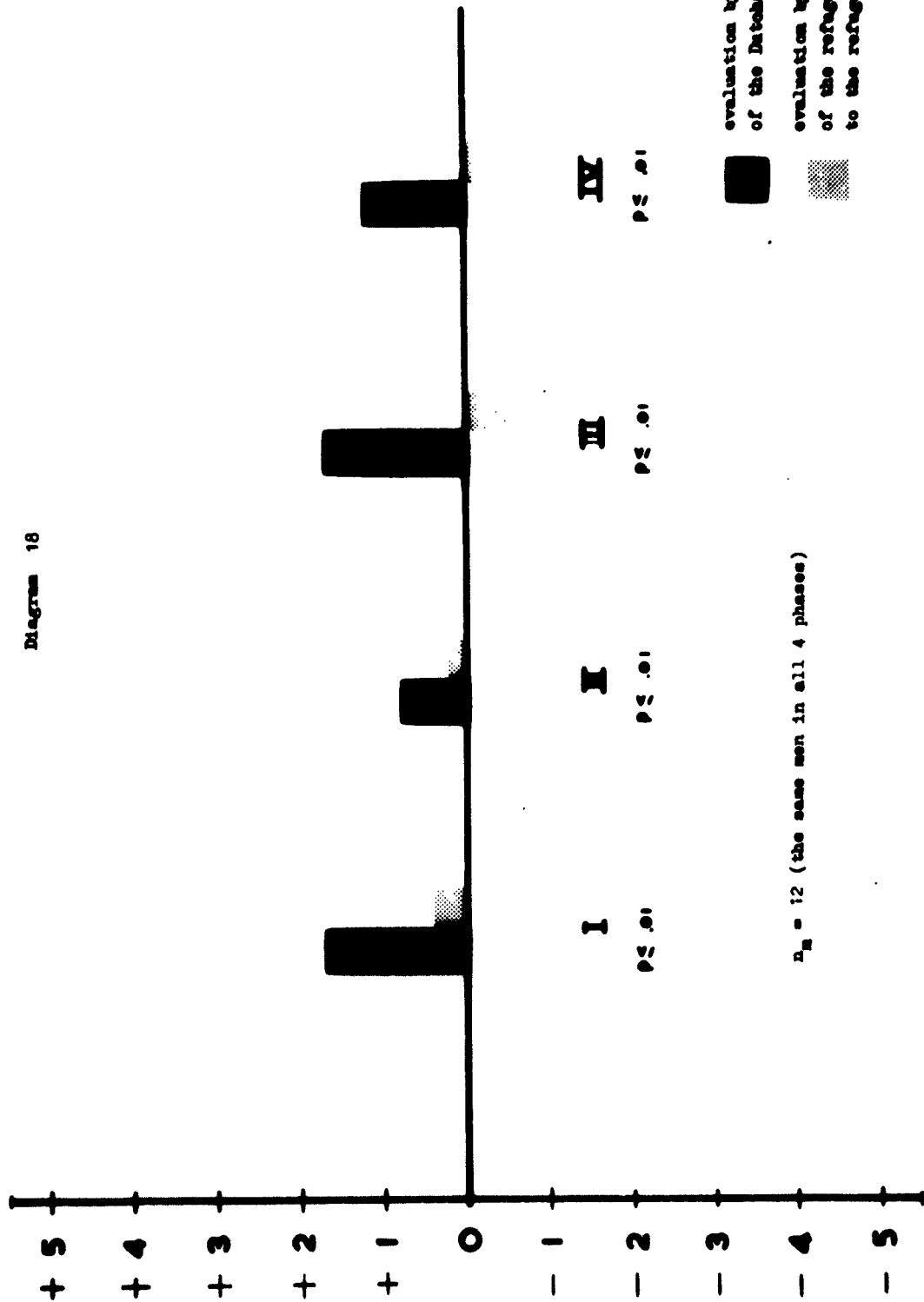


Diagram 19

HOSPITALITY

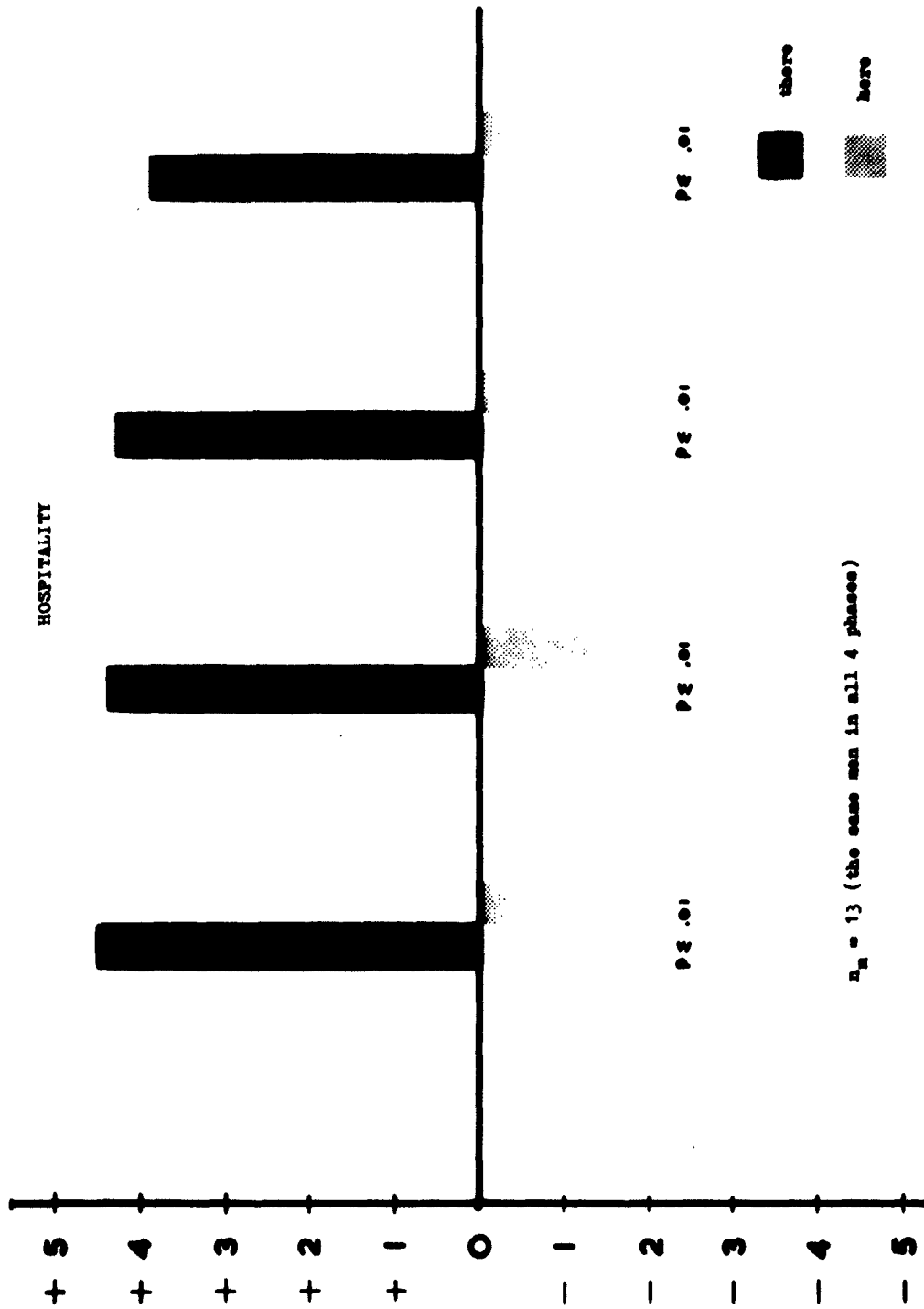
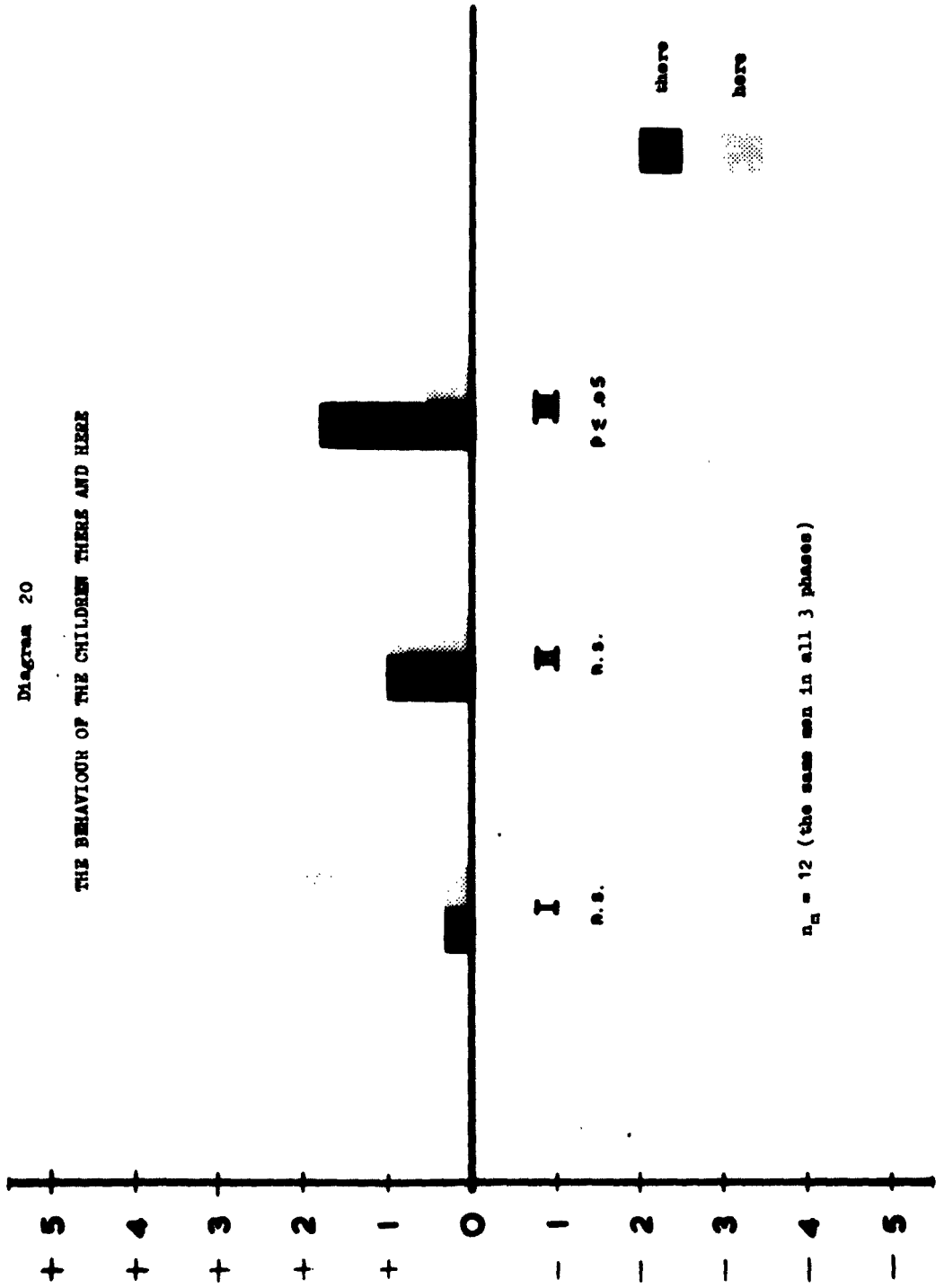


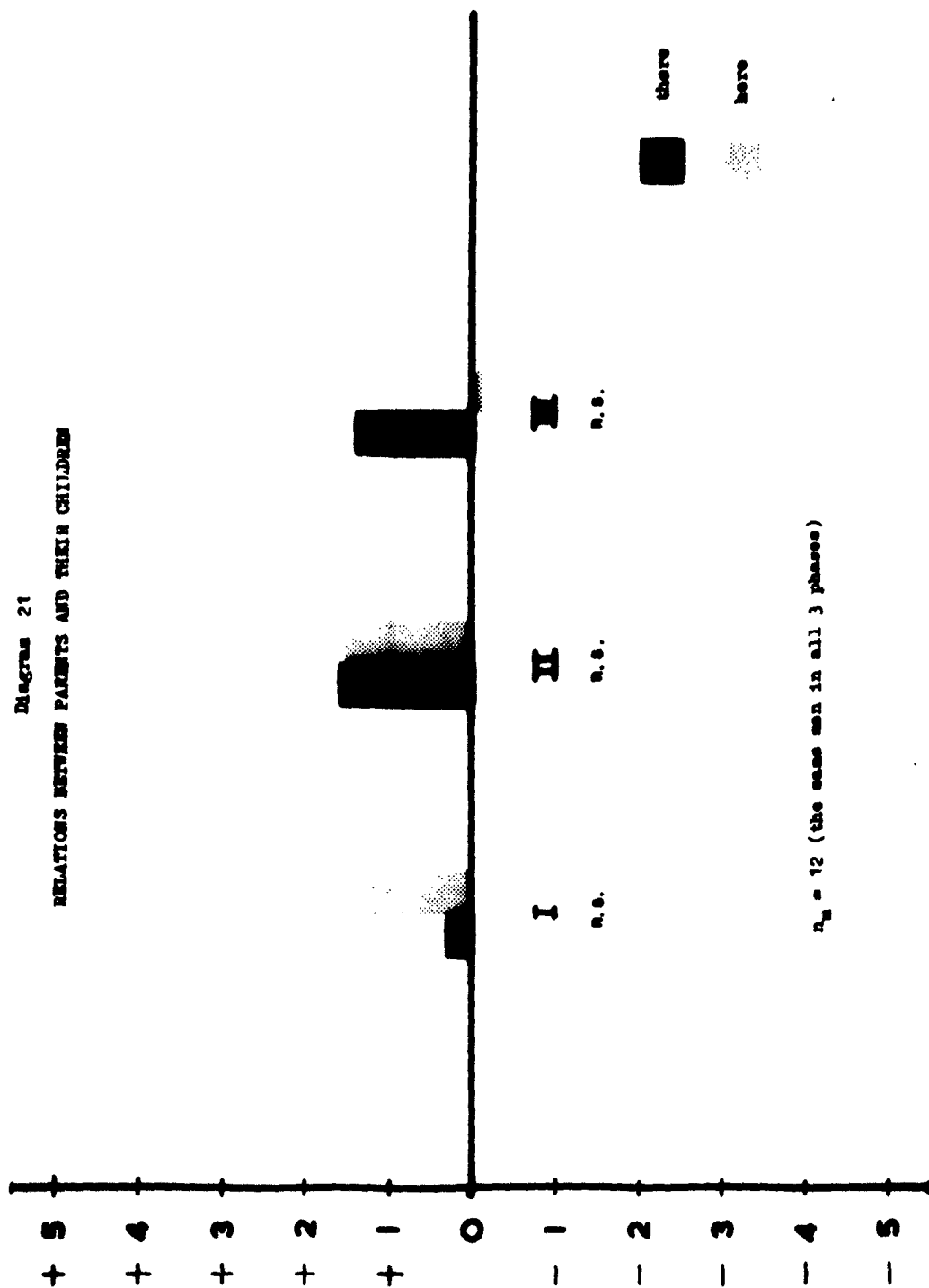
Diagram 20

THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE CHILDREN THERE AND HERE



$n_n = 12$ (the same men in all 3 phases)

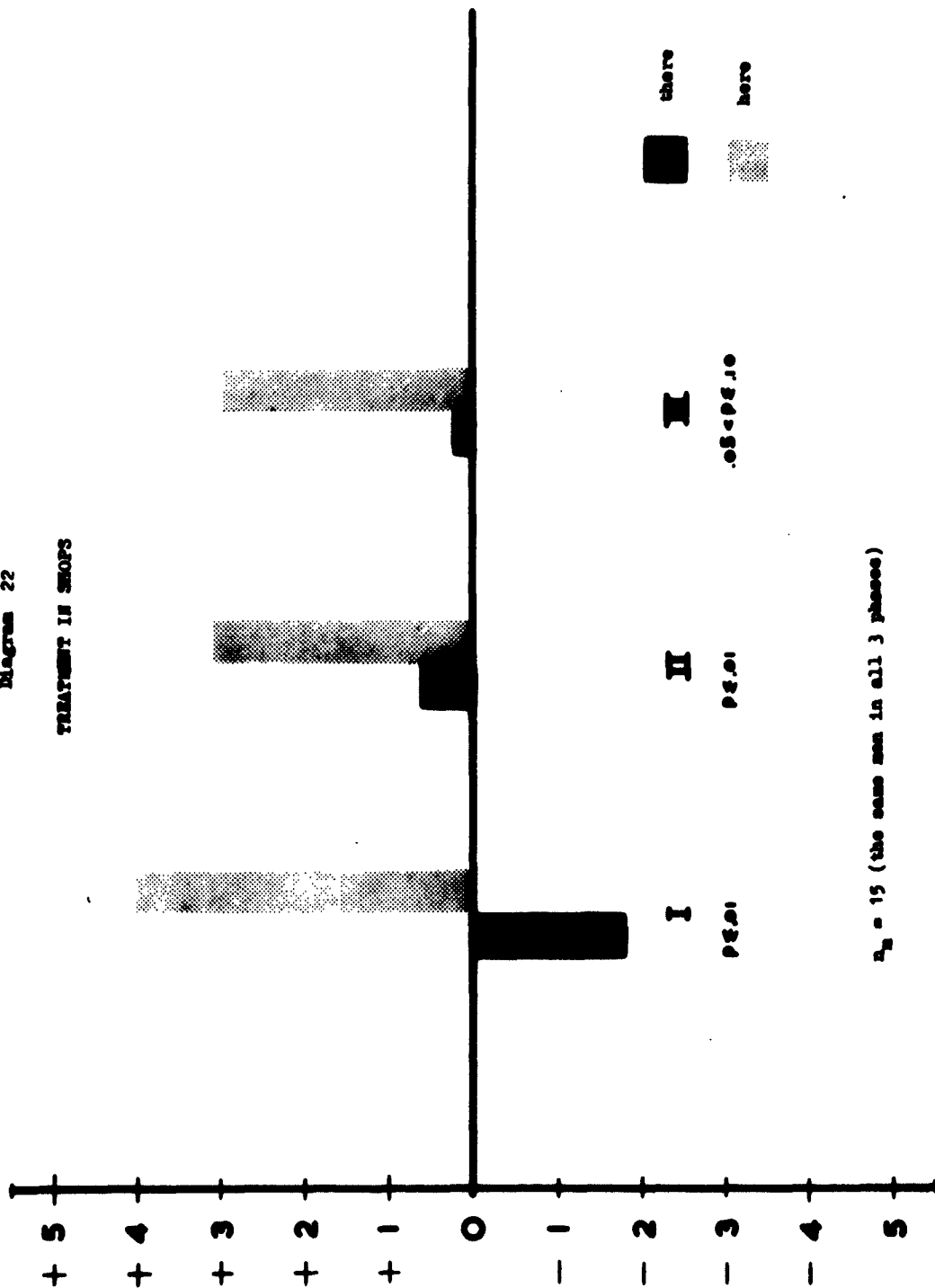
Diagram 21
RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN



$n_{II} = 12$ (the same men in all 3 phases)

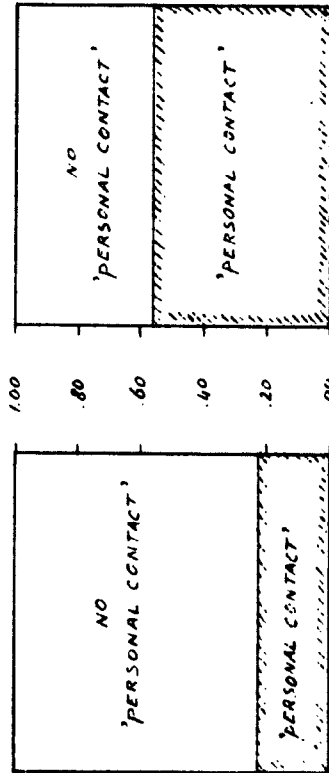
Diagram 22

TREATMENT IN SHOPS



$n_0 = 15$ (the same man in all 3 phases)

DIAGRAM 23



III

22 YEARS AFTER
DESEMBARKATION

IV

43 YEARS AFTER
DESEMBARKATION

Diagram 24
CONTACT WITH COLLEAGUES AT WORK

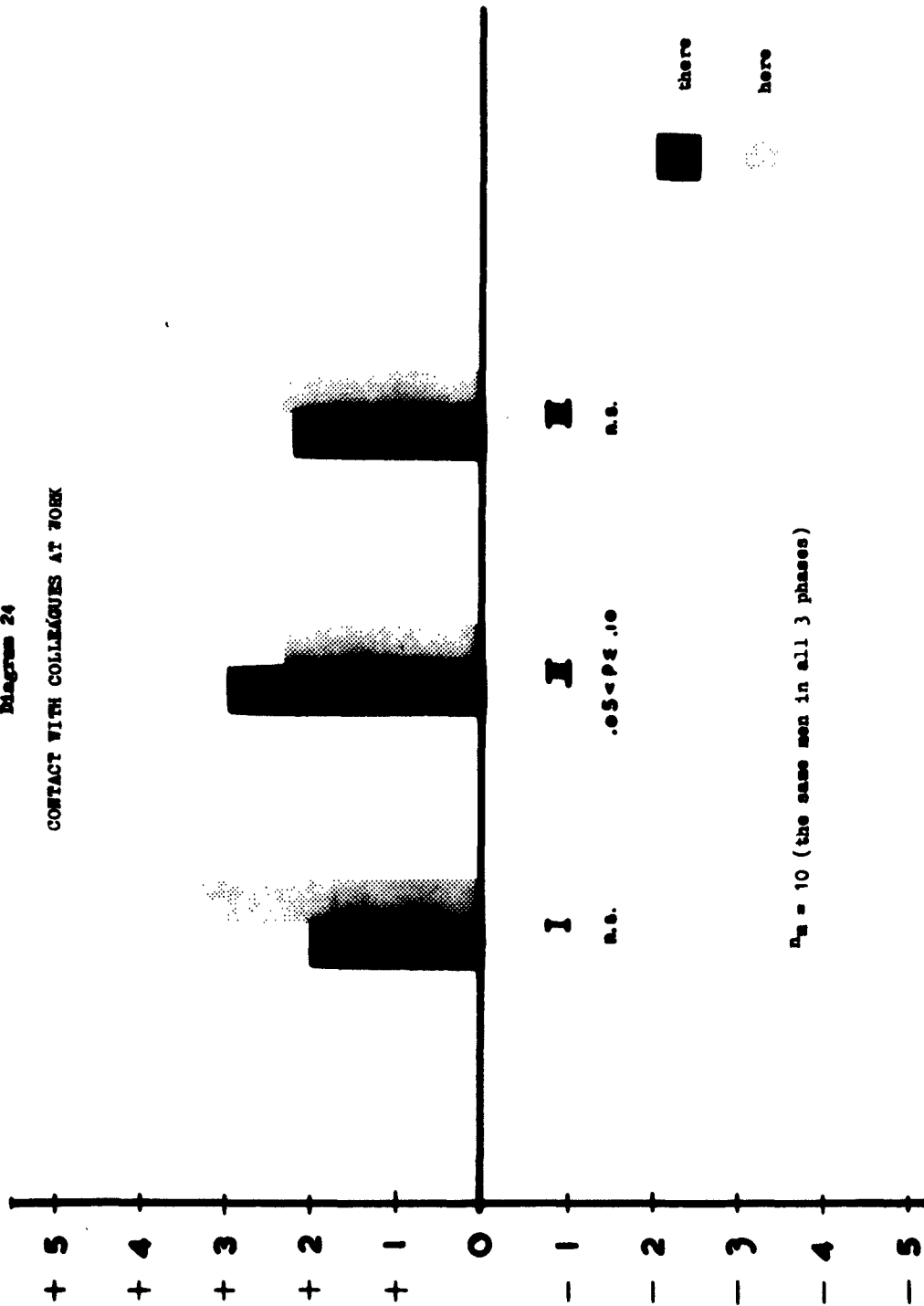
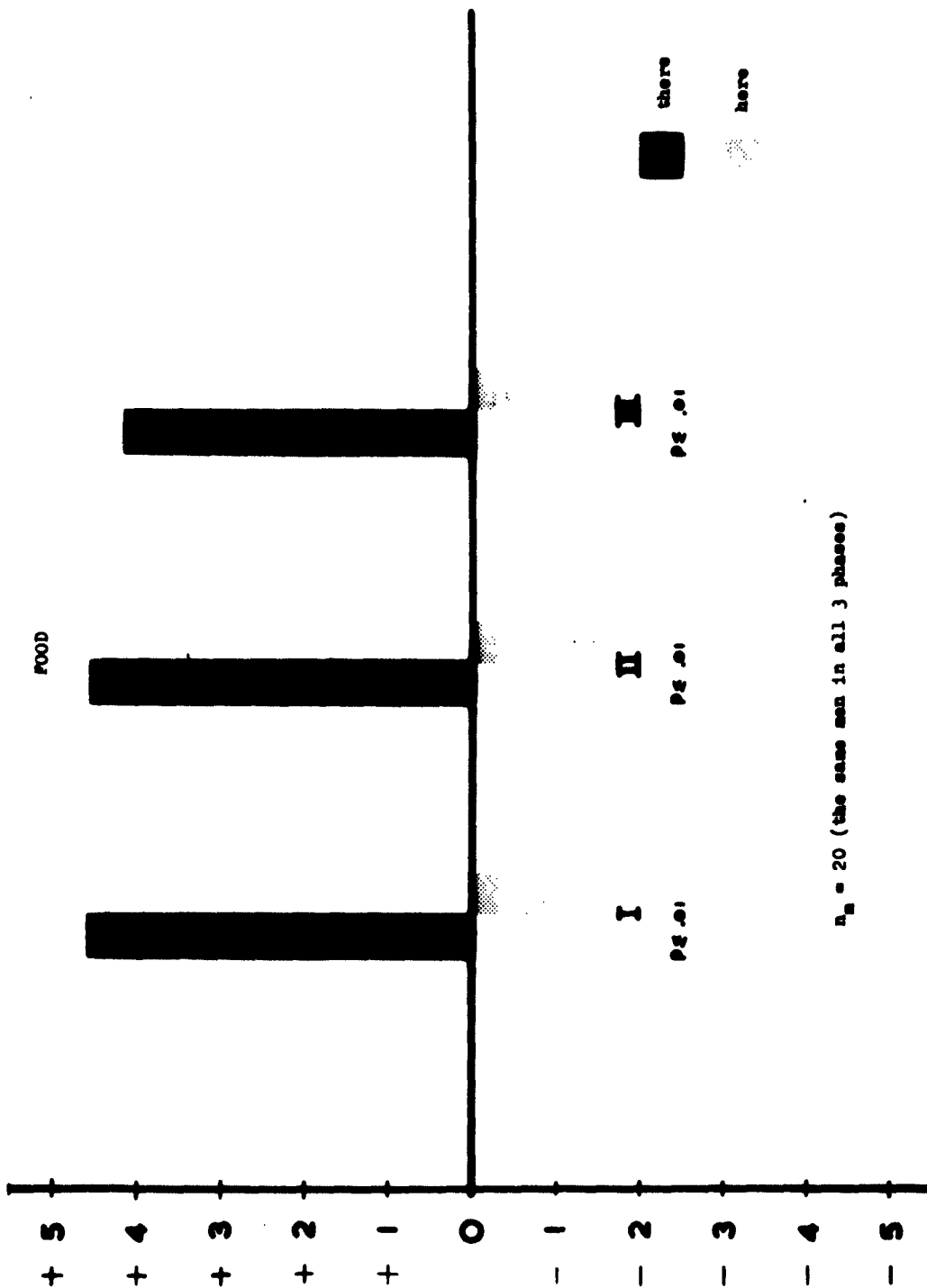


Diagram 25



$n_n = 20$ (the same men in all 3 phases)

Diagram 26

~~BERBOM~~

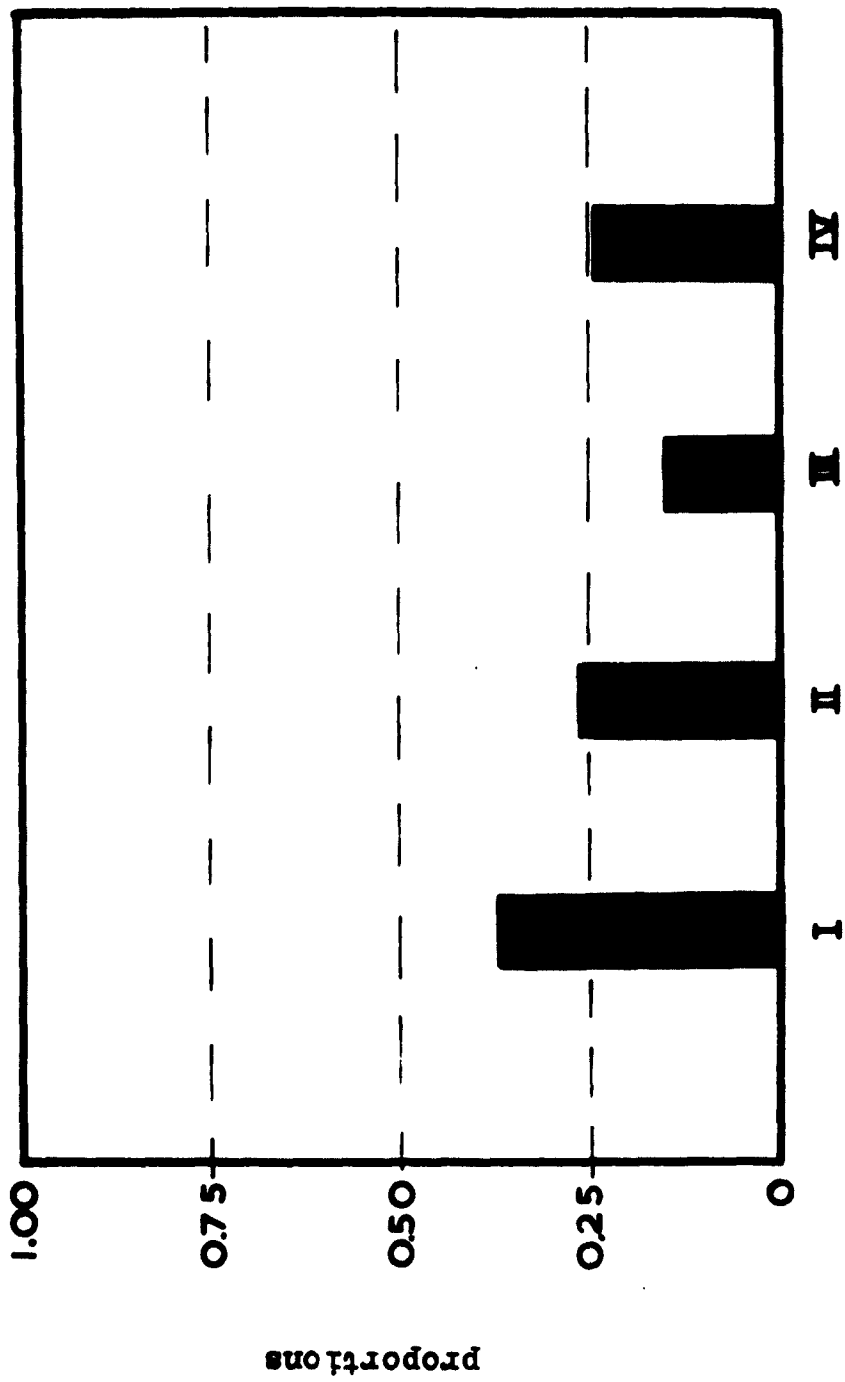
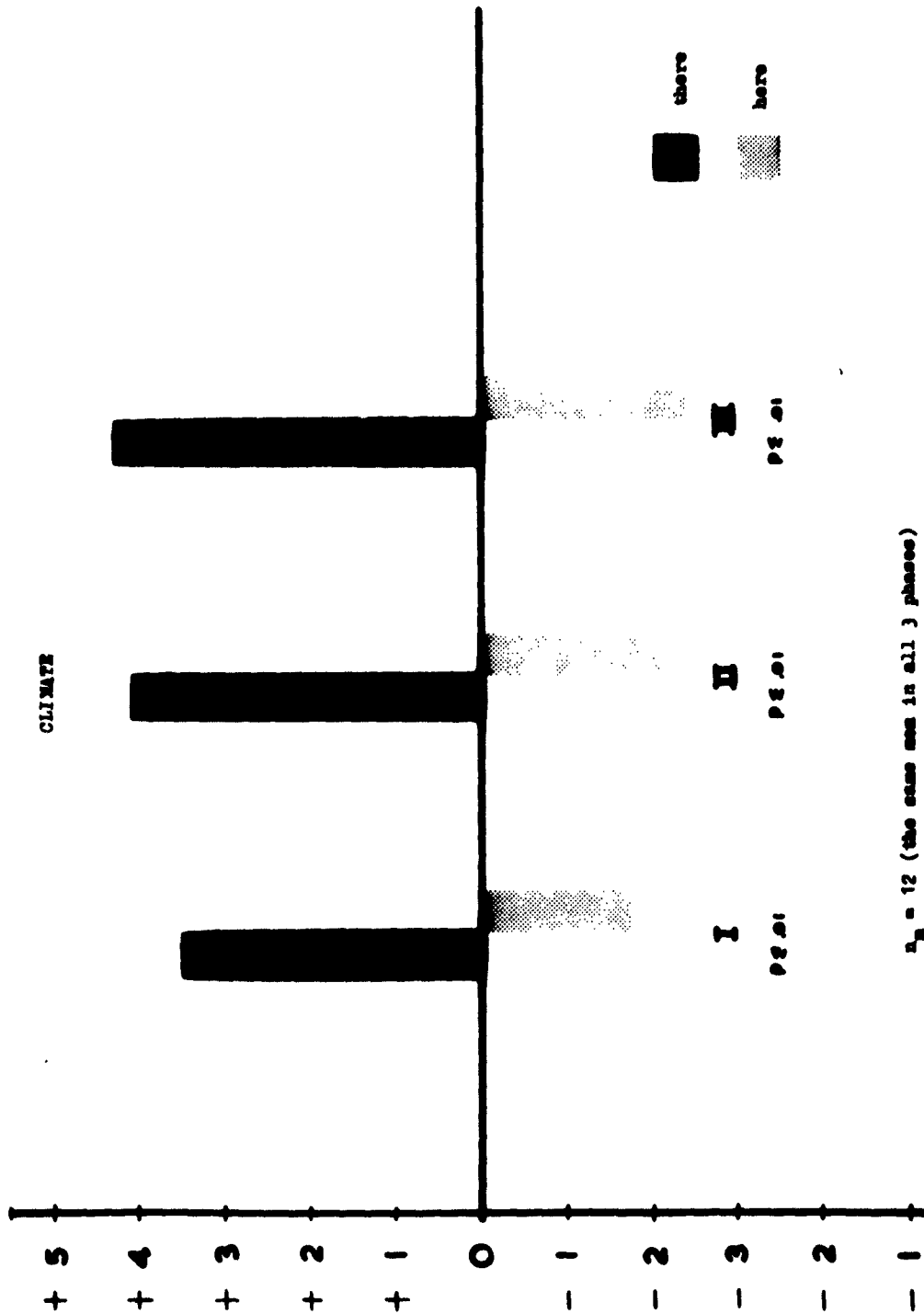


Diagram 27

CLIMATE



$n_2 = 12$ (the same now in all 3 phases)

Diagram 28

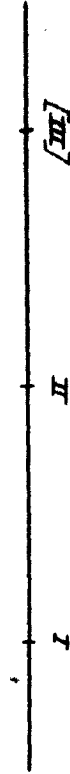
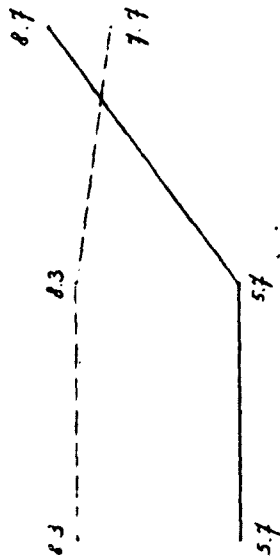


DIAGRAM 29

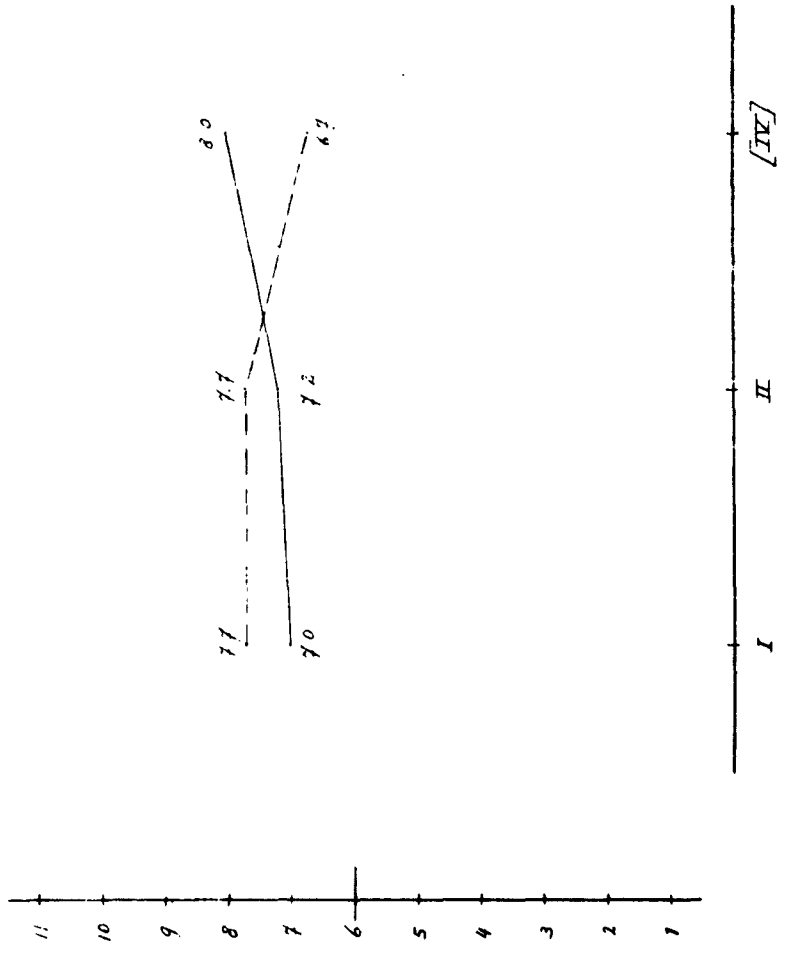


DIAGRAM 30

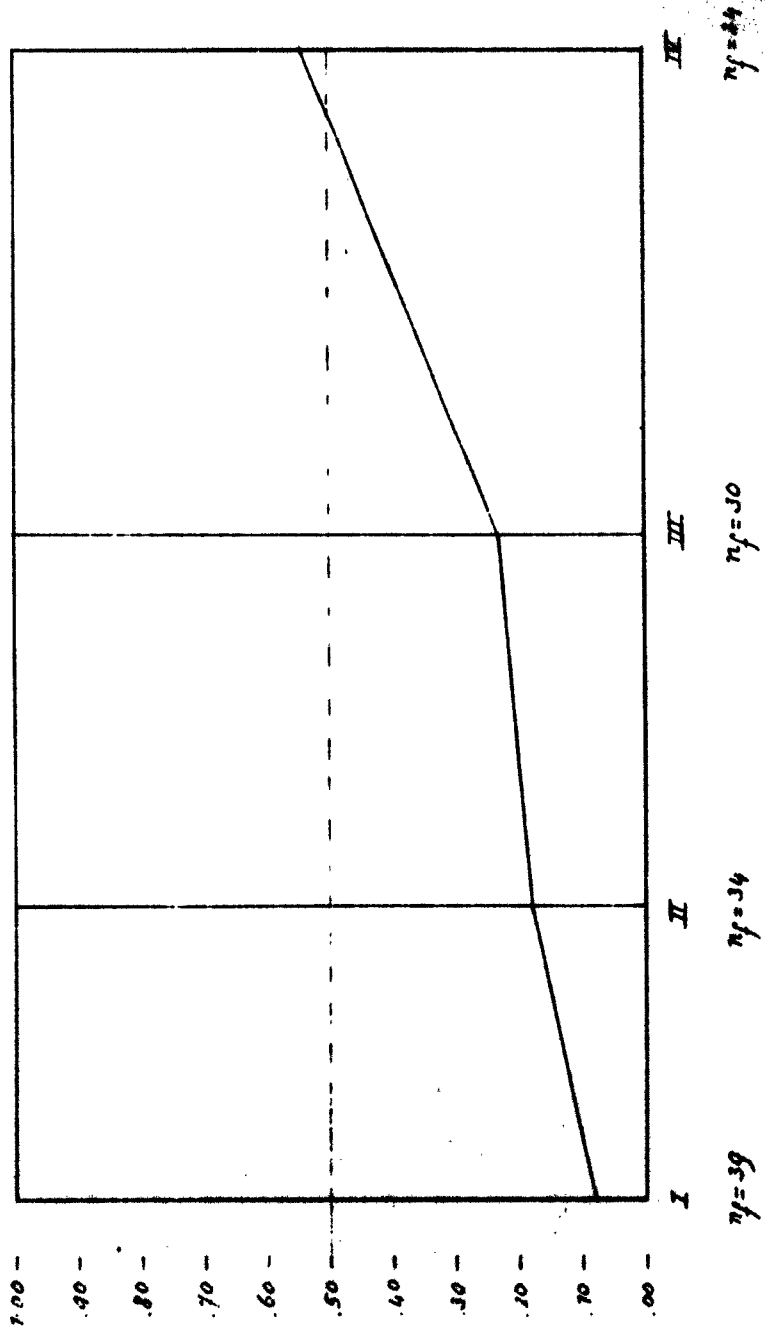


DIAGRAM 31

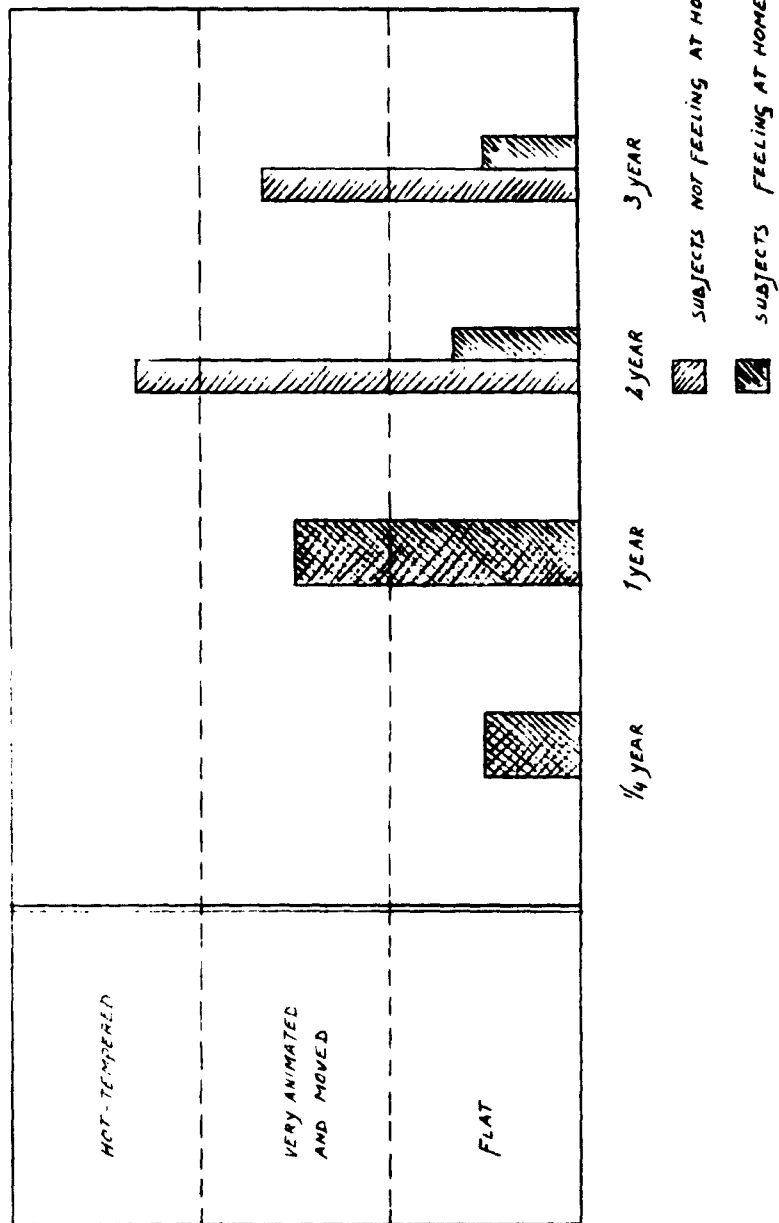
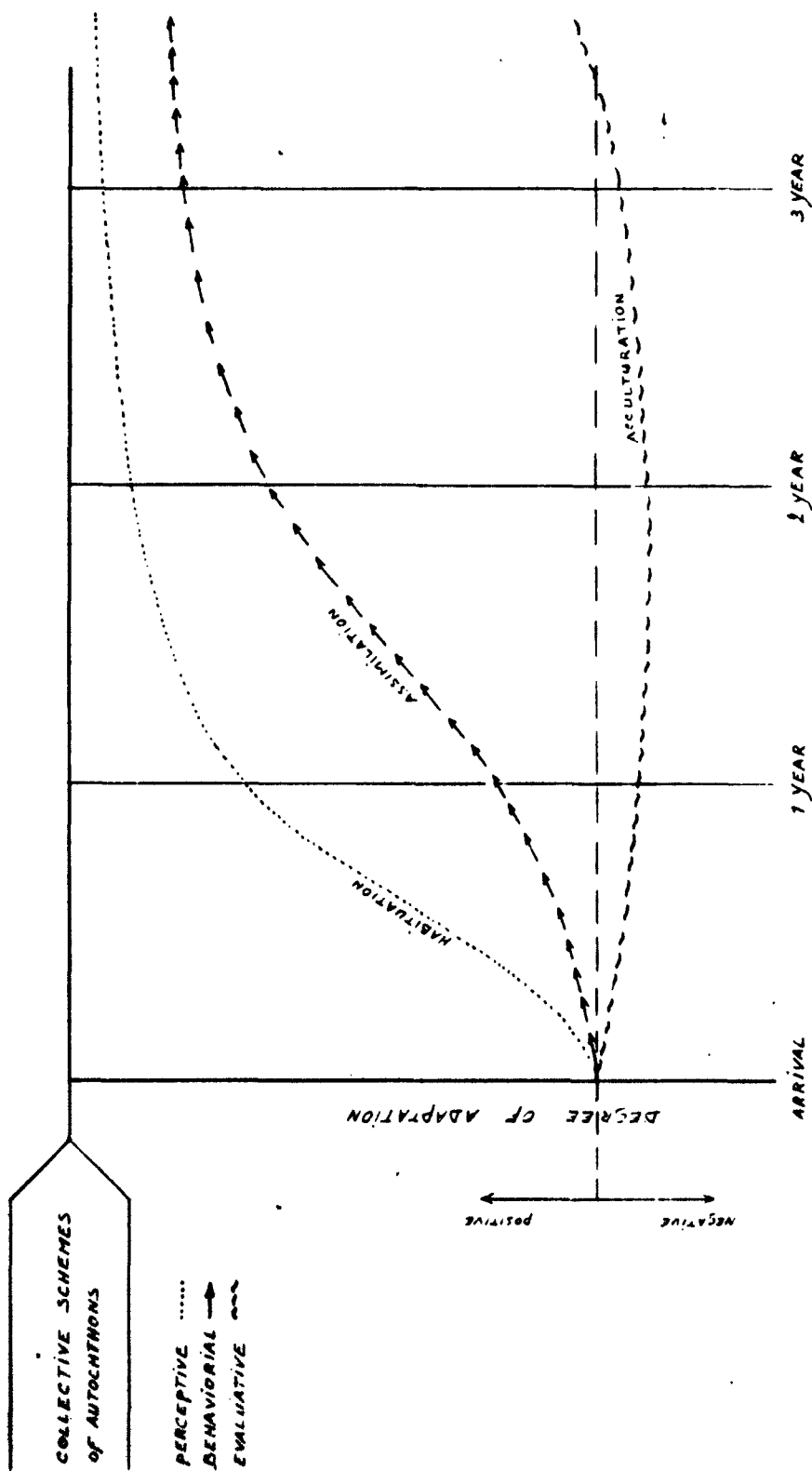


DIAGRAM 32



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